

Gc
974.402
Sp8co
v.1
1876-1981
1769902

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

Gd)

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01068 4576

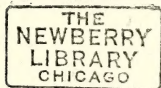
PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONNECTICUT VALLEY

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

V. I.
1876-1881.



SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

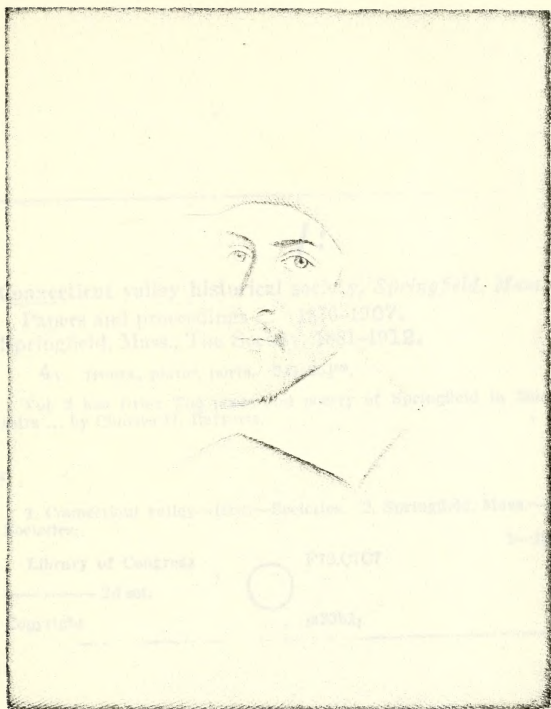
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY,

1881.

1769902

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CONNECTICUT VALLEY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

William Pynchon



William Pynchon

F
847
.2

/:
Connecticut valley historical society, *Springfield, Mass.*

Papers and proceedings ... 1876-1907.
Springfield, Mass., The Society, 1881-1912.

4v. fronts., plates, ports. 24½-25½cm.

Vol. 3 has title: The poets and poetry of Springfield in Massachu-
setts ... by Charles H. Barrows.

SHELF CASE

1. Connecticut valley—Hist.—Societies. 2. Springfield, Mass.—Hist.—
Societies:

Library of Congress

F72.C7C7

1—12151

_____ 2d set.

Copyright

⊙
[a33b1]

F 847.2

Copyright, 1881, by
CONNECTICUT VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

12-94
ne

SPRINGFIELD PRINTING CO.,
ELECTROTYPERS, PRINTERS AND BINDERS,
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS volume contains an abstract of the proceedings of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society, beginning with its first meeting in April, 1876, and ending with its quarterly meeting in December, 1881. It also contains all the papers read at the meetings of the Society that have been furnished by their authors for publication. Other valuable papers have been read from time to time, as will be seen by reference to the proceedings, which have not come into the possession of the Society.

The steel portrait of William Pynchon, the pioneer in the Massachusetts settlements of the Connecticut Valley, has been furnished by Dr. Joseph C. Pynchon of Springfield, one of his descendants.

WILLIAM L. SMITH,	}	<i>Committee of Publication.</i>
WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF,		
WILLIAM RICE,		

SPRINGFIELD, December 22, 1881.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Prefatory Note, ...	vii
Officers of the Society, ...	ix
List of the members of the Society in the order of their election, ...	x
Article of Association, ...	1
By-Laws, ...	1, 217
Introductory Address. By the President, Henry Morris, ...	4
Proceedings of the Society, 1, 36, 62, 72, 90, 91, 122, 123, 207, 217, 219, 240, 262, 263, 298.	
Memorial Resolutions, ...	122

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

The Breck Controversy in the First Parish in Springfield, in 1735. By Mason A. Green, ...	8
Salmon and Shad in the Connecticut River. By Alfred Booth, ...	16
The Old Springfield Fire Department. By Joseph K. Newell, ...	19
The Old Main Street Jail and House of Correction in Springfield. By Henry Morris, ...	29
Dr. Stephen Williams. By John W. Harding, ...	36
Elizur Holyoke. By Henry Morris, ...	62
Springfield in the Insurrection of 1786. [Shays's Rebellion.] By William L. Smith, ...	72
Review of Peters's History of Connecticut. By Charles Hammond, ...	91
Early Navigation of the Connecticut River. The First Steamboat. By T. M. Dewey, ...	114
The Old Pynchon Fort and its Builders. By Henry Morris, ...	123
Count Rumford and his Early Life. By Everett A. Thompson, ...	133
Dartmouth College and the State of New Connecticut, 1776-1782. By John L. Rice, ...	152
Slavery in the Connecticut Valley. By Henry Morris, ...	207
Ryefield; or, a Town in the Connecticut Valley at the Commencement of the Nineteenth Century. By Mrs. William Rice, ...	211
Letter of Rev. Stephen Williams, D. D., to his Children, ...	251
Miles Morgan. By Henry Morris, ...	250
Minnetona; or, The Indian Gift; an Historical Poem. By William S. Shurtleff, ...	263
Bi-Centennial Address, 1836. By Oliver B. Morris, ...	298

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Prefatory Note, ...	vii
Officers of the Society, ...	ix
List of the members of the Society in the order of their election, . . .	x

Article of Association, ...	1
By-Laws, ...	1, 217
Introductory Address. By the President, Henry Morris, ...	4
Proceedings of the Society, 1, 36, 62, 72, 90, 91, 122, 123, 207, 217, 219, 240, 262, 263, 298.	
Memorial Resolutions, ...	122

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

The Breck Controversy in the First Parish in Springfield, in 1735. By Mason A. Green, ...	8
Salmon and Shad in the Connecticut River. By Alfred Booth, . . .	16
The Old Springfield Fire Department. By Joseph K. Newell, . . .	19
The Old Main Street Jail and House of Correction in Springfield. By Henry Morris, ...	29
Dr. Stephen Williams. By John W. Harding, ...	36
Elizur Holyoke. By Henry Morris, ...	62
Springfield in the Insurrection of 1786. [Shays's Rebellion.] By Wil- liam L. Smith, ...	72
Review of Peters's History of Connecticut. By Charles Hammond, . .	91
Early Navigation of the Connecticut River. The First Steamboat. By T. M. Dewey, ...	114
The Old Pynchon Fort and its Builders. By Henry Morris, ...	123
Count Rumford and his Early Life. By Everett A. Thompson, . . .	133
Dartmouth College and the State of New Connecticut, 1776-1782. By John L. Rice, ...	152
Slavery in the Connecticut Valley. By Henry Morris, ...	207
Ryefield; or, a Town in the Connecticut Valley at the Commencement of the Nineteenth Century. By Mrs. William Rice, ...	219
Letter of Rev. Stephen Williams, D. D., to his Children, ...	238
Miles Morgan. By Henry Morris, ...	250
Minnetona; or, The Indian Gift; an Historical Poem. By William S. Shurtleff, ...	263
Bi-Centennial Address, 1836. By Oliver B. Morris, ...	298

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

1881-2.

President.

HON. HENRY MORRIS, OF SPRINGFIELD.

Vice-Presidents.

HON. AUGUSTUS L. SOULE, OF BOSTON.

SAMUEL O. LAMB, ESQ., OF GREENFIELD.

REV. L. CLARK SEELYE, D. D., OF NORTHAMPTON.

Clerk and Treasurer.

REV. WILLIAM RICE, D. D., OF SPRINGFIELD.

Executive Committee.

REV. SAMUEL G. BUCKINGHAM, D. D., OF SPRINGFIELD.

EPHRAIM W. BOND, ESQ., OF SPRINGFIELD.

HON. WILLIAM L. SMITH, OF SPRINGFIELD.

HON. WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF, OF SPRINGFIELD.

REV. JOHN W. HARDING, OF LONGMEADOW.

HENRY S. LEE, ESQ., OF SPRINGFIELD.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE SOCIETY IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ELECTION.

HENRY MORRIS,
SAMUEL G. BUCKINGHAM,
AUGUSTUS L. SOULE,
WILLIAM RICE,
*SAMUEL BOWLES,
WILLIAM L. SMITH,
JOSEPH C. PYNCHON,
HENRY S. LEE,
CHARLES MARSH,
HOMER MERRIAM,
E. A. REED,
JOHN B. STEBBINS,
JOSEPH K. NEWELL,
EPHRAIM W. BOND,
WILLIAM CLOGSTON,
E. A. HUBBARD,
JAMES M. THOMPSON,
WILLIAM S. TYLER,
FREDERICK W. MORRIS,
JOHN M. STEBBINS,
A. M. COPELAND,
ALFRED BOOTH,
JAMES L. WHITNEY,
EDWARD INGERSOLL,
H. M. CASTLE,
HOMER FOOT,
CHARLES MERRIAM,
GEORGE S. TAYLOR,
GEORGE C. S. SOUTHWORTH,
HENRY HOPKINS,
M. B. WHITNEY,
NORMAN T. LEONARD,
JOHN W. HARDING,

S. W. BOWLES,
E. H. PHELPS,
*DANIEL L. HARRIS,
EVERETT A. THOMPSON,
WASHINGTON GLADDEN,
A. D. MAYO,
C. B. NEWELL,
CHARLES W. CHAPIN,
GEORGE DWIGHT,
*ELIJAH BLAKE,
*HENRY BREWER,
*JAMES BREWER,
A. P. STONE,
E. W. DICKINSON,
JAMES D. BREWER,
ALBERT H. KIRKHAM,
T. M. DEWEY,
ALBERT T. FOLSOM,
E. B. CLARK,
SAMUEL C. BOOTH,
J. H. BISBEE,
HENRY W. TAFT,
A. S. BRYANT,
*JOEL MUNSELL,
CHESTER C. CONANT,
GEORGE H. DEAN,
W. W. COLBURN,
JOHN L. RICE,
GIDEON WELLS,
C. G. WHITING,
HEMAN SMITH,
ROBERT O. MORRIS,
*CHARLES HAMMOND,

*Deceased.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

xi

*SAMUEL T. SPAULDING,
WILLIAM B. HALE,
L. CLARK SEELYE,
H. H. BOND,
J. L. R. TRASK,
SAMUEL O. LAMB,
H. S. SHELDON,
WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF,
CHARLES R. LADD,
GEORGE M. STEARNS,
WILLIAM HYDE,
JOSEPH WHITE,
CHARLES O. CHAPIN,

MILTON BRADLEY,
JAMES KIRKHAM,
C. C. CHAFFEE,
H. A. GOULD,
SANFORD LAWTON,
J. R. SMITH,
C. C. MERRITT,
W. B. STONE,
R. G. SHURTLEFF,
W. K. BAKER,
CHARLES P. HOOKER,
JOSEPH H. DAMON,
VARNUM N. TAYLOR.

*Deceased.

CONNECTICUT VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE OF ASSOCIATION.

WE, the subscribers, residents within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, have associated ourselves with the intention to establish a corporation by the name of the CONNECTICUT VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, to be located in the City of Springfield, for the purpose of collecting and preserving all such manuscripts, papers, books, records and memorials as relate to the settlement and history of the Connecticut Valley.

MARCH 1, 1876.

HENRY MORRIS,
WILLIAM RICE,
SAMUEL BOWLES,
S. G. BUCKINGHAM,
A. L. SOULE,

HENRY S. LEE,
CHARLES MARSH,
HOMER MERRIAM,
E. A. REED,
JOS. C. PYNCHON,

WILLIAM L. SMITH.

FIRST MEETING.*

At a meeting of the subscribers to the agreement for the formation of the CONNECTICUT VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, held April 14, 1876, Henry Morris was chosen chairman by ballot. Charles Marsh was elected temporary clerk.

On motion, Henry Morris, William Rice and Charles Marsh were chosen a committee to prepare by-laws and report at an adjourned meeting.

Adjourned to April 21st.

· APRIL 21, 1876.—Met pursuant to adjournment.

The committee appointed to prepare by-laws submitted their report, and the following articles were adopted:

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE 1.—This Society shall be called the CONNECTICUT VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE 2.—The objects of this Society shall be to procure and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, military, literary, ecclesiastical and

*The formal proceedings as herein published are abridged from the original records.

genealogical history of the country ; and especially of the territory included in the Connecticut valley.

ARTICLE 3.—The names of candidates for membership shall be presented by the directors, and the election of members shall be by ballot at the annual or quarterly meetings, or at any meeting called for the purpose ; and the votes of two-thirds of the members present, and voting, shall be necessary to a choice. Each member shall pay, before the annual meeting next following his election, the sum of three dollars. The Society may assess taxes at the annual meeting on each member not exceeding two dollars in any one year. Any person neglecting to pay his assessments for two years shall forfeit his membership, unless the board of directors shall otherwise order. Any member paying at any one time the sum of twenty-five dollars shall thereafter be exempt from assessments or annual payments.

ARTICLE 4.—The officers of the Society shall be a president, three vice-presidents, clerk, treasurer and an executive committee of six. These officers shall be elected by ballot annually, at the annual meeting, and shall hold their offices until others are chosen and qualified in their stead. Vacancies in any of the offices may be filled by the directors. The president, vice-presidents, clerk, treasurer and executive committee shall together constitute a board of directors, who shall receive donations and manage and superintend all the concerns of the Society, and provide for papers to be presented and discussed at the annual and quarterly meetings. The president, and in his absence, one of the vice-presidents, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the board of directors. The clerk shall keep a record of all proceedings of the Society, and of the board of directors, and shall have charge of all books, papers and ancient memorials belonging to the Society which shall be deposited in such places as may be designated by the Society, or the board of directors. He shall also keep a catalogue of all donations to the cabinets of the Society, with the donor's name affixed to each, and shall make a written report at the annual meeting. The treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society, and shall make a written report at the annual meeting of the state of the treasury. Five members of the board of directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE 5.—The annual meeting shall be held on the first Monday of April, and quarterly meetings shall be held on the first Mondays of July, October and January, at such hour and place as shall be indicated in the call for the same. Special meetings shall be called by the executive committee or by the president, on application of three members of the Society, stating the object for which a meeting is desired. Notice of all meetings shall be given by the clerk by publication of the time and place of the same, at least one week prior thereto, in one or more newspapers published in Springfield. Such other notice shall be given as the directors may order. Ten members of the Society shall constitute a quorum to do all business. Any proposed amendment to the by-laws shall be presented at a meeting held one week previous to the time when it is to be acted upon, and it shall require at least two-thirds of the votes

of those present to adopt an amendment. Meetings of the directors shall be called by the clerk, on order of the president, or request of two directors, by written notice deposited in the post-office at least three days before the time of meeting.

Voted to proceed to the election of officers by ballot. Officers were elected as follows:

President, HENRY MORRIS.

Vice-Presidents, AUGUSTUS L. SOULE, WILLIAM L. SMITH, SAMUEL BOWLES.

Clerk and Treasurer, WILLIAM RICE.

Executive Committee, SAMUEL G. BUCKINGHAM, HOMER MERRIAM, EDWARD A. REED, JOSEPH C. PYNCHON, HENRY S. LEE, CHARLES MARSH.

The Clerk was sworn to the faithful discharge of his duties.

Adjourned.

OCTOBER 2, 1876.—FIRST QUARTERLY MEETING.

The President delivered the following

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

The Valley of the Connecticut presents a field for historic research equaled by few, surpassed by none. True we have no Revolutionary battle-fields, consecrated in the great struggle for independence. The armies of England never penetrated so far into the interior. The only British soldiers who came here, came as prisoners, and some of these took so kindly to our valley, that they settled among us as citizens, married wives, established homes and raised families. Some of their descendants are with us at this day, filling positions of responsibility and usefulness.

But while we have in the valley no battle-grounds famous in Revolutionary annals, we are rich in memorials of earlier trials.

We can point to many a spot where the war-whoop of the savage has echoed in peaceful villages and startled the settler by his fireside, or at his labor in the field, to seek protection for his wife and children. The tomahawk and the torch were active instruments in those days, in the work of destruction. Here, too, is soil that has witnessed the fierce and protracted conflict with the savage foe, and been wet with the mingled blood of white men and red men. The horrors of that early warfare have had no parallel in later times, unless it be in the atrocities recently perpetrated in the old world, upon a professedly Christian people.

These early wars have been, to a large extent, chronicled by writers whose works have been published. I apprehend, however, that there are many interesting details to be gathered, and localities marked, which have never yet been preserved in a form that will secure their transmission to those who shall come after us.

Aside from the annals of Indian warfare, this valley has been the scene of many important events that merit a fuller record than they have yet received. How little is known of the part taken in the old French war by the people residing in this valley.

Yet it is a fact, that in the single year 1745, eighteen of our young men of Springfield met death during the siege and at the capture of the fortress of Louisburg. How many incidents connecting this valley with the American Revolution have failed of any permanent record. And yet, it is safe to say that there is not a town in this part of the State that did not send its sons into our armies to fight the battles for independence, numbers of whom perished on the field, or fell victims to the diseases and hardships of camp life. Is it too late to rescue the names of these heroic men from oblivion? And then that trouble, known as Shays's rebellion, that followed so soon after the war of the Revolution, are there not some traditions to be gathered concerning it, which have found no record in the pages of Minot or any other annalist?

It is not, however, in wars and tumults alone that the true antiquarian will seek subjects for his diligent study. The multifarious transactions of civil life in which the men who have passed away from among us took part—transactions which in their time attracted general attention and interest, nay, the very men themselves—the actors in these transactions, who, in the two centuries before the present, and some even in this present century, planned and organized our civil institutions, inaugurated and conducted the various enterprises of their time, and gave shape and tone to its social life—is there not much to be collected and preserved concerning them, that those who come after us may not be left in profound ignorance that such men have lived and acted their part here?

It is one of the marked peculiarities of this centennial era, that it has drawn the attention of our countrymen so much to the past and has awakened so strong a desire to preserve the fragmentary memorials that yet remain. Everywhere is manifested an anxiety to secure the local annals. Writers are busy in investigating records and documents that have been neglected and forgotten for years. Many town histories have been published; others are in course of preparation. Historical discourses have been delivered by clergymen in their various parishes. The addresses before the various professional and

social organizations existing among us have largely taken on a historical type, and the public mind generally is becoming more inquisitive, and so better informed about the past.

It was in a sympathy with this sentiment that this society had its origin. Deeply impressed with the importance of preserving our local annals, and appreciating in some degree the value of the field for investigation afforded by the valley of the Connecticut, a few gentlemen associated themselves as the Connecticut Valley Historical Society, and organized as a corporation under the laws of this commonwealth.

A good degree of interest has been manifested in the object, which, considering the general depression in almost every kind of business at present prevailing, is an encouraging omen of success in our enterprise. Whether this success shall be achieved depends, mainly, upon the spirit with which the members of the society engage in the work contemplated by our constitution.

One very important part of this work is the collection and preservation of ancient records and documents, of every kind, that may in any way illustrate ancient transactions and the habits of life and modes of business that characterized years long past. Many an important historical fact has been derived from some old letter that has been preserved among the family treasures, or from some entry made in some court record, or in the diary of some individual made for a very different purpose. For instance, it has been regarded as an interesting fact, in connection with the early history of Springfield, that the pioneers who first came to this valley purposed to locate their settlement on the west side of the river, and actually built their first house there. The evidence of that fact rests almost entirely, as I suppose, upon the entry made in the old Pynchon record of a lawsuit about the building of that house. There are many similar cases. I have no doubt that if all the old account books, newspapers and documents of various kinds, which had lain dormant in the garrets of old houses for many years before our late civil war, but which were hunted up and sold for paper stock when paper stock was high, were now in existence and could be subjected to a careful scrutiny by persons skilled in antiquarian lore, very

MR. MASON A. GREEN read the following paper :

THE BRECK CONTROVERSY IN THE FIRST PARISH IN SPRINGFIELD IN 1735.

[Compiled from the Pamphlets, "The Hampshire Narrative, a defense of their course against Mr. Breck;" "An Answer to the Hampshire Narrative," and "A Letter to the Author of the Answer to the Hampshire Narrative."]

The most peculiar episode in Springfield ecclesiastical history, and one little dwelt upon in the books, is the church feud of one hundred and forty years ago which ended in the settlement of Rev. Robert Breck over the First parish. Radical in speculation and daring in its expression, Rev. Robert Breck found himself, at twenty-two years of age, in a strange neighborhood, confronted by Jonathan Edwards and the stiff theology of the river. In a sermon at New London, he had charitably said: "What will become of the heathen who never heard of the Gospel I do not pretend to say, but I cannot but indulge a hope that God, in his boundless benevolence, will find out a way whereby those heathen, who act up to the light they have, may be saved." The news of this alarming hope came to Springfield through a letter of Rev. Mr. Williams of Mansfield, Conn., who referred to Revs. Clap and Kirtland as persons willing to testify to Mr. Breck's unfitness for the ministry. As the matter grew serious, other and earlier sins were added to the list. He had stolen books when thirteen years old, while a Harvard student, and had afterward denied it; he doubted the inspiration of certain scriptural texts; he had called Mr. Clap a liar, etc. The juvenile theft of books was admitted and forgiveness asked; but when he was first charged with it by Rev. Mr. Clap, the story was so garbled that he denied it, and thus laid himself open to a charge of prevarication, the most serious one against him. But, in the minds of the river gods, heterodoxy was his crime, and when he came to Springfield in 1734, he found them eyeing him with suspicion.

In August, the Springfield church called Rev. Mr. Breck. Two months later, the objections to his settlement were read before the Hampshire Association at Suffield; and the matter here dropped, as the church did not accept Mr. Breck's terms;

many valuable facts illustrating the past history of our land and the characters of the men and women, who were conspicuous actors on the stage of life, before the beginning of the present century, would be brought to light. Much, very much that would have been valuable has been lost in this way within the last fifteen years. Much, however, yet remains and may be saved. Let us endeavor to gather from their dark and dusty depositories these relics of the past, and place them in the archives of this society, where they will be carefully preserved and made available to future historians who shall undertake the office of recording in a permanent form the transactions of a past age.

In this enterprise we invite the co-operation and solicit the aid of all gentlemen residing in the Connecticut valley, who feel an interest in the object. We should gladly welcome them to our membership. Nor do we confine this invitation to one sex. Remembering what has been wrought by woman in this department of research, we extend to the ladies of this valley a cordial invitation to encourage and assist us in this enterprise. Are there not women scattered up and down the old county of Hampshire, who will do for the towns where they reside what has been done by Miss Caulkins for the city of Norwich, and by Miss Jones for the town of Stockbridge, in writing out the annals of their towns? Nor is there anything in our organization that excludes from our society those who have not the privilege of living in the valley of the Connecticut.

While we regard this as our peculiar field, we are happy to receive into our number the dwellers in the regions on either side of this valley. Wherever there is an individual who sympathizes with our purposes and desires to aid us in historical research, we shall gladly welcome him as a co-laborer.

but in November it came up again, it having become known that certain persons of note had obstructed his proposed settlement, and the church voted to get the advice of the ministers of the county, and six of the thirteen were opposed to another call. The advice was not followed, and Breck again returned to Springfield, to meet determined opposition. In April, 1735, the church formally asked the association what were the objections to Mr. Breck, and what the remedy. They recommended that the matter be referred either to the Windham (Conn.) association or a committee of Hampshire ministers. This recommendation was also rejected by the church. They did not wish to migrate in order to settle a dispute, and Rev. Mr. Williams of Longmeadow, one of the committee of the local association, was known to be prejudiced against Breck. They offered to submit the case if Mr. Williams was not on the Hampshire association committee; but Mr. Williams did not see fit to withdraw, and the association supported him. The case had thus not been put into the hands of the association except for advice, and the church had clearly a right to call a council to try Mr. Breck with a view of ordination. Jonathan Edwards claimed that the association was the only proper judge of the case,—on what Congregational grounds does not appear. To mend matters, Breck asked that ministers from abroad sit with the association to try the case. Many objected to this, though the moderator, the venerable Mr. Williams of Hatfield, did not.

Mr. Williams's course in this matter, however, is very singular. While stating that he was in favor of the calling in of foreign ministers, he did much to prevent it. In July, Rev. William Cooper of Boston wrote Mr. Williams, at Breck's request, that, when the matter came up again before the association, two or three from abroad might be asked to sit with it. Mr. Williams coldly replied: "I think it not proper for me to give Advice or Encouragement to the coming of other ministers to manage that Affair, which would serve to cast a Reflection of insufficiency or unfaithfulness on the Ministers of the County, which I know no cause for; nor doth it seem to have a Prospect of promoting his Comfort or of the Peace

and Love among the Ministers of the County." After the church had called its council, Mr. Williams wrote the Boston members who had been called to it: "I can't but take it something hardly that, upon Mr. Breck's bare Word, they (Boston churches) should think so meanly of us as to count it necessary to send their Ministers and Delegates to interpose in that affair." It is surely good Congregationalism to accept an invitation to sit in an ordaining council, and the Boston brethren replied by proposing that the association meet at Springfield instead of Deerfield. Rev. Mr. Williams's answer was that the local ministers had been illy treated, and they refused to do it unless the case was left with the association. Yet Mr. Williams's letter to Mr. Pynchon of the Springfield church was entirely of a different character. Referring to this offer of the Boston brethren, he said he would accept it and use his influence with the association to that end, but expressed the opinion that the proposed meeting was impracticable. He thus built up a home reputation of favoring a meeting of the association at Springfield on the day of the meeting of the ordaining council, and yet did much to prevent it by such cutting letters abroad.

A joint letter to the Springfield church was written by Mr. Williams, Samuel Hopkins, Jonathan Edwards and N. Bull, dated August 14, evidently in Edwards's handwriting, in which they say: "We account it preposterous for y^e church of Springfield to call him (Breck) or for him to accept a call to y^e ministry, till y^e matter objected against him has been duly inquired into. * * * We hardly think any number of ministers will be found to serve the scheme of Springfield and Mr. Breck." The right of Mr. Edwards to stigmatize a regular council to try a minister on definite charges, a "scheme," must be doubted, as must also be his Congregationalism, when, a few days before, he had said the association was the only proper judge of the case. According to history, a Congregational church has exclusive control of its own affairs, and the association is an organization of ministers—not of churches—for mutual benefit, having the privileges of disfellowship, giving of advice and other things of that nature. The singular claim of

sole jurisdiction set up by the Hampshire ministers of course precipitated an explosion.

The day set for the ordination was Wednesday, October 8 [O. S.]. The weather had been cold and doors were closed throughout the colony. The slice, fire-broom, back-log, and the pent-up aroma of baked beans and "brewins" again lent an added charm to New England home-life. A week before the meeting, Revs. Cooper, Welsteed and Mather of Boston, and Cook of Sudbury, undertook the journey through the woods to Springfield. The prospect for a friendly reception was as cheerless as the weather. Cooper and Welsteed called on Mr. Williams at Longmeadow, where they found it would be fruitless to call upon the Hatfield Williams. The result was that the two parties kept coldly apart; which in point of Christian courtesy the local ministry should not have allowed. The Longmeadow Williams was more conservative and, at least, more consistent than his Hatfield namesake. He was pretty firm in his opposition to Mr. Breck, and he personally advised the putting of certain evidence against him on record over the signatures of Pyncheon, Worthington and others, but he also opposed the civil interference of the council.

The ordaining ministers were entertained at Madame Brewer's (on the site of Fallon's block). Her daughter, Miss Eunice Brewer, was then at home; and here boarded, also, the young accused. These two young people were pretty well agreed on things besides theology, and a novelist might have a good word to say about it; for she was a Chauncy, descendant of the Chauncy who came over with William the Conqueror, and whose family married into the Saxon line of kings, and in the Springfield cemetery is a pre-revolutionary grave-stone with this inscription: "Mrs. Eunice Breck, the Virtuous Consort of the Rev'd Robert Breck, and daughter of the Rev'd Daniel Brewer."

The council, consisting of Chauncy of Hadley, Deyotion of Suffield, Rand of Sunderland, Cooper, Welsteed and Samuel Mather of Boston, and Cook of Sudbury, met with closed doors in a chamber of the parsonage on the morning of October 7.

The Hatfield Williams was also included in the letters missive, but he declined the invitation. Rev. William Cooper was chosen moderator. The "dissatisfied brethren" of the Springfield church, being asked to appear against Breck, wished a delay until three p. m., when they presented their charges, but declined the proofs, as the council, they claimed, was not legal. This was going farther than Edwards had advised, but the feverish state of public opinion had had its effect upon them. The hostile ministers had arrived, bringing with them some justices from Northampton. They all "put up" at one tavern, with some strangers, where they were visited by the "dissatisfied," and many curious rumors were afloat. The next morning, Wednesday, 8th, the council insisted on proofs of the charges preferred, and were refused; but the information was volunteered that Revs. Clap and Kirtland from Connecticut were in the village, and that they were Mr. Breck's principal accusers. A brisk word and pen discussion followed between the council and these gentlemen, resulting in the latter's making a written statement. As this was the day set for the ordination, "the usual preparations for entertainment" were postponed.

The hostile parties in this singular contest thus found themselves face to face. Mr. Clap, afterward president of Yale college, began to read, and Mr. Breck undertook to answer him as he proceeded, which was not allowed. This secret chamber trial was indeed a memorable scene,—seven wigged judges, two accusing wigs from another state, and the broad-shouldered, high-bred, generous-hearted boy minister, whose large inspirations had charmed a village congregation and given a shock to the Connecticut river Calvinism.

Mr. Clap, who proceeded, was again interrupted by a messenger who had arrived on horseback. They held a private conference, and he rode away "with convenient speed." The suspicion that Clap had divulged something to an outsider was confirmed by the appearance of an officer for Breck's arrest, as Mr. Clap finished, and just as Breck was on his feet for a reply. Holland, in his "History of Western Massachusetts," says: "After they had assembled, the sheriff, with his posse, marched

to the house where they were in session, surrounded it with his force, and then, with a drawn sword in his hand, entered the room where the council were examining the candidate. There, in his majesty's name, he arrested Mr. Breck, and ordered him to prepare himself immediately for a journey to New London." He adds that Breck offered bail, which the sheriff first refused, and then accepted,—but a sheriff does n't have any power to take bail in such cases, and as the warrant was not for his appearance at New London, but before the justices, there is evidently more paint than history in this account. The prisoner was taken to the town-house (on Sanford street) amid the wildest excitement. Violence was threatened, but through the wise advice of members of the council, this was prevented. Justices Stoddard, Dwight and Pumroy had arrived at the town-house. The usual manner was for the bell on the town-house to ring as the dignitaries left the tavern in line preceded by a sheriff with a tithing-pole. The attending crowd lent unusual importance to these maneuvers, which were indeed dramatic for so rural a stage.

As the ministerial prisoner was brought in, proclamation was made before the crowded and breathless assembly for any who would testify concerning Mr. Breck's principles to appear. This was a triumphant moment for the home party and they did not disguise it, especially the "radiant countenance of a distinguished personage from Connecticut." The first proposition of Breck's enemies had been to arrest the Boston part of the council, and this was the plan when the council met. But, after the warrant was drawn up, one of the justices was in doubt; his hesitation settled into a final refusal, and one was hastily drawn and signed for the arrest of Mr. Breck himself. The secret conference of Clap and the messenger may have had reference to this change of tactics, and the arrest was, indeed, a surprise all round. Clap, Kirtland and others gave the evidence which they were presenting to the council. Meantime the astonished body of ordainers, finding themselves with no one to ordain, sent a couple of their number to the town-house with a respectful protest against these violent proceedings, and claim-

ing they were a regular council, trying Breck on the self-same charges that caused his arrest. The prisoner, however, was detained until evening, when he was released on the word of several of the council that he would return when summoned. A debate on Mr. Breck's bail may have been the occasion of Dr. Holland's confusion in his account.

The next morning, the 9th, the ordaining council began its third day's session, but it was again interrupted by a summons from the justices.

It was afternoon and the council had adjourned. But some still lingered in Madame Brewer's chamber, engaging in a fire-side discussion, when a member of the church asked for a copy of Mr. Breck's confession of faith. This was given him and he retired to read it. Inconsiderate friends called together a crowd in front of the parsonage. A young theologian mounted a horse and read aloud to the crowd this concise piece of technical theology. It was accepted as an honest statement, and a deepened feeling of the outrage practiced on the church was engendered. By this time the "dissatisfied" had won their case at the town-house, and the justices had signed the warrant for Breck's removal to New London, a number of the church being chosen to accompany him in "token of respect." There was the wildest excitement as he approached the street from the town-house, in the custody of the officer. The bulk of the yeomen, loyal alike to King George and to their puritan sense of justice, respected the officer and honored the prisoner by accompanying them through the town and a short way on their journey south. This turn of affairs had enlisted the inhabitants, independent of church, in favor of the young man, whose crime was a charity broad enough to save ignorance the damnation of wickedness. Again the council were called upon to check this popular indignation, and the following morning, October 10, the church undertook a private conference of prayer, but finally the doors of the meeting-house were thrown open, and a characteristic New England scene—a public meeting of humiliation before God—followed. This was Friday,—a "Black Friday" of the olden time, caused by an attempted "corner" on Calvin-

ism,—and we have the simple chronicle that it was a “large and weeping assembly,” which listened to “a seasonable discourse.”

The next morning,—for in those days, through prayer or something or other, people had a way of bringing things to pass,—Mr. Breck returned from New London acquitted, and there were great felicitations among the people. The council, still in session, announced Mr. Breck orthodox, but the ordination was postponed. The case came up before the Legislature, which voted that the council was a regular one; that, though the justices had right, by law, to inquire into the extraordinary facts charged on Mr. Breck, yet they ought not by any means, to have interrupted that church and ecclesiastical council while they were, in the exercise of their just rights, inquiring into the same. Another and successful attempt at ordination occurred in January, 1736, Rev. Mr. Cooper delivering the sermon. In April, Mr. Breck crowned his success by leading to the altar the daughter of his predecessor, and his strong and simple ways, his rugged manner of putting the essentials of religion and forgetting the rest, soon disarmed his enemies, though they were slow in yielding. A month later, they petitioned the justices to compel the church to settle an orthodox minister. The warrant under this petition is in the hands of Richard Beebe of Springfield, but the matter was never pressed. On the 22d of March, Mr. Breck had a talk with D. and John Chapin, of the “dissatisfied,” and they expressed themselves, after the interview, as just as much dissatisfied as ever. But Mr. Breck grew, and during the forty-nine years of good preaching, the church grew with him, and he now lies with his congregation, in the Springfield cemetery, having made a generous contribution toward liberal Christianity.

Mr. Breck might have done more, perhaps, if he had not yielded to the times so far as to subscribe to that confession of faith, Calvinistic enough to include, by implication, the damnation of babies, which was read at his ordination. His willingness, however, to yield all he could in conscience, was one of the lines of his power with the people, and, after the matter was over, the Hampshire ministers were in such an awkward position

they were forced "by the Clamour that the County was filled with against us," to issue a couple of pamphlets in defense of themselves. In one of these they insisted that a retraction, as well as a confession, should have been read at the ordination, quoting the case of Barrett at Cambridge in 1554, who had to retract and express humiliation for doctrines far less corrupt than Breck's. The pamphlets issued in this matter were not in the best spirit on either side, and are better examples of special pleading than a broad regard for facts. It is a curious fact that the more serious charges of stealing books and prevarication were left in the background, the ministers claiming that their printed account of it as given by Mr. Clap, was "without one reflection on that particular; we never made it an article against him," which indicates how theological speculation may be carried on at the expense of morals.

SALMON AND SHAD.

DR. ALFRED BOOTH said :

The following statement having appeared recently in print, and it being so entirely the reverse of the truth, as I have always understood it, I was induced, to-day, to interview certain persons who may be possessed of knowledge and able to give opinions which shall settle the question of fact. The subject may not be of general interest, but as history is simply fact, and as the digging up and putting on record the latter is the particular province of this Society, it will be perfectly pertinent to bring these statements before you.

The newspaper assertion was, that at a certain time "it was a condition in buying shad, that a certain amount of this 'Agawam pork,' as salmon was then called, should be taken with it." The question is, was it salmon or was it shad that parties were obliged to take, *pro rata*, in order to get the other fish?

Mr. Thomas Warner has as vivid a remembrance of the early days of this region as any man now living. He recalls the time when he shot deer on the ground, now built up, around Lake Como, in Springfield, and from that point eastward was good

hunting ground. He remembers, when he was a lad, say ten or twelve years old, seeing flat-bottomed boats on the river containing perhaps twenty tons, or 20,000 shad, and selling at a penny each. These were caught at South Hadley falls. As to salmon, he saw about 100 caught one day, near the mouth of Agawam river, and thrown on the grass under an apple tree, and the leaves of the apple blossoms fell thick upon them. Mr. Warner is eighty-three years of age.

Mr. Roderick Ashley is also eighty-three years of age. He says that salmon were scarce sixty-five years ago, while shad were plenty. Occasionally a sturgeon was caught. Shad sold for ten cents each, and he has seen 500 taken at one haul. He says that people were obliged to take shad in order to get salmon.

Capt. Adin Allen is seventy-nine years old. When he was a boy of nine or ten years, he saw two salmon caught at Windsor Locks, and those are all he ever saw taken from the river. In those days the mesh of the nets was so large that only large shad were caught, those weighing five or six pounds, and the usual price was nine cents each. In his father's day salmon were plenty, and a man named Tom Chandler once took a shad home to eat, and "they bothered him almost to death about it," shad eating being considered an unnecessary acknowledgment of poverty and worthlessness. This same Tom Chandler, who seems to have been both eccentric and independent, about the year 1809, took home some sturgeon to eat, being the first man among those acquainted with the circumstances who ever tried the experiment. Mr. Allen, as is well known, has known the river intimately from boyhood, having always lived near it and for years piloted boats between here and Hartford. Mrs. Allen, of about the same age as her husband, has always lived near the river, and her grandmother, I think, owned a fishing place. She says, in her parents' days, salmon were plenty and the best shad could n't be sold for more than two cents each.

The late Daniel Lombard used to say, in his day, people were considered "pretty mean" who would eat shad. The late Elijah Simons has many times said, that he remembered the day when

shad were not considered worth eating. The late Festus Stebbins, also, used to say that the time was when people were ashamed to be seen carrying shad; it was considered poor men's food.

Mr. Henry Collins remembers deer near the Lake Como ground as late as 1818, or 1819, and wild turkeys there also. He says he always understood that people had to take salmon in order to get shad. Mr. Harvey Sanderson, born in 1797, where the Springfield depot now stands, has the same idea, but neither he nor Mr. Collins have had that acquaintance with shad fishing, or the river generally, which other parties named have who express themselves decidedly of the opposite opinion. Mr. Sanderson says, there have been no salmon "to speak of" in his day, but he remembers hearing his mother say that salmon and shad were three pence per pound, and it was once deemed a disgrace to eat shad. He, himself, can recall the day when shad sold for ten cents each.

That salmon was called "Agawam pork," I think a mistake. It was a term applied in derision, and was more applicable, under the circumstances, to shad than to salmon. Sturgeon are called on the Hudson river, "Albany beef;" and if Agawam was ever held up in contempt it must have been in connection, not with the prized salmon, but with the despised shad. There does not seem to have been a time when shad were not more plenty than salmon, more of a "drug in the market," so to speak, and hence if there was a stipulation that a certain amount of one should be taken in order to buy the other, it was the shad that were forced off and not the salmon; and this view is reasonable, if we remember that the salmon supply was constantly growing less, while the demand was not decreasing proportionally.

MR. J. K. NEWELL read the following paper on the

OLD SPRINGFIELD FIRE DEPARTMENT.

Its Management and Apparatus from 1793 to 1824.

In these days of self-propelling steam fire-engines, improved hook-and-ladder trucks and apparatus, heavy hose of leather, rubber, cotton and linen, patent hydrants, nozzles and regulating valves, together with our immense water pressures, it is instructive as well as interesting to look back to the days of our fathers and recall their simple methods and compare them with our own.

Springfield being from its first settlement a decidedly progressive town, we find it early possessed of "ye engine." The exact date of its purchase is not yet ascertained, but we find it, in 1793, the property of the first parish, who, that year, expended some ten pounds lawful money in repairs on the machine and in building the house where it was stored. We take the following items from the parish records of 1793, about which time there seems to have been an awakening in regard to fire matters :—

February 2, 1793, the following bills were allowed :

Alexander Bliss for oyl and tallow for ye Engine, ...	£0	3	0
Col. Wm. Smith for a Kettle for do., ...	0	3	0
Marcus Marble, sundries, ...	0	5	6
Capt. Jared Bliss, sundries, ...	0	14	0
Lt. Geo. Blake, sundries, ...	0	9	2
Joseph Clough ($\frac{1}{2}$ day's work), ...	0	2	0
Festus Bliss, work and sundries, ...	1	19	0
Jonathan Dwight, sundries, ...	2	8	3 2
Paul Bliss, sundries, ...	0	5	0
Daniel Bliss, 100 spokes for Engine, ...	0	4	0
William Pyncheon, stuff for do., ...	0	3	0

It is considered as settled that the engine was procured about this time by private subscription, as no record seems to exist to show that it was purchased by the parish or the town. On the other hand, a proposition to purchase an engine, 30 years later, was promptly voted down by the legal voters of the outer parts

of the town, who could not see any personal benefit arising from such expenditure.

In 1794, Jeremiah Snow was paid £2 0 0 for brass tips for fire-ward's staves. The duty of the fire-wards was similar to that of our present engineers, and they carried these brass-tipped staves as badges of office. One of these staves has survived the accidents of time, and is now in the chief engineer's office.

The first organized fire company of which we have any record had a preliminary meeting, undoubtedly at Zenas Parsons's tavern, as all subsequent meetings were called there, and subscribed to the following agreement: "We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, engage to form ourselves into a fire-club or company subject to such rules and regulations as shall be adopted by the majority of the company hereafter. Springfield, January 17, 1794.

"Jonathan Dwight, Thomas Dwight, George Bliss, William Smith, Joseph Williams, William Sheldon, Charles Sheldon, Samuel Lyman, Zebina Stebbins, Chauncy Brewer, Luke Bliss, William Pynchon, John Hooker, Bezaleel Howard, Zenas Parsons, James Byers, Colonel Williams, Colonel Dwight.

"John Hooker, Esq., George Bliss, Esq., and Jona. Dwight, Esq., were appointed a committee to prepare a form of association and Bye-Laws."

The following was adopted and printed, for the benefit of the members, in large type, on a sheet of paper 12 inches by 15½, folded once to make four pages, the reading-matter using three of the pages:—

Fire Company.

We, the subscribers, hereby agree to associate together as a fire company, and do hereby pledge our faith to each other, to use every lawful exertion to preserve the property of each other from destruction by fire, and agree to observe the following

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

ARTICLE 1. The number of members shall not exceed twenty-five, exclusive of honorary members, and no person shall be admitted unless, after having been proposed at a former meeting, he shall on balloting have seven-eighths of the votes of the members present, and shall have subscribed these articles; and

the clerk shall provide ballots for each member, with the words yea and nay thereon.

2. The company shall annually assemble, the day after the annual spring and fall town-meetings, at the house of Zenas Parsons, at 6 o'clock, p. m., or such other place as the senior directors shall appoint; and at such spring meetings shall choose a first, second, third and fourth director, and a clerk and treasurer; and any member absent from any stated or special meeting shall pay a fine of twenty cents.

3. The senior director present shall be moderator of all meetings, and is hereby authorized and empowered absolutely to order and direct the proceedings of the company at any fire, and may give any directions for securing property in danger, which he shall judge proper; and, when the senior director present is interested, the same power shall devolve on the next director, who is not immediately interested.

4. Each member of the company shall constantly keep two fire bags and buckets, with his name thereon, hung up by the front door of his house, and when any buildings of any member is on fire, or his property in danger, shall with his bags and buckets instantly repair thereto, and the company shall take possession of such building, and exclude all persons, except the family of the owner, and such persons as he shall request the then presiding director to admit.

5. Any director unreasonably neglecting to attend at any fire, and do the duty herein assigned him, shall pay a fine of two dollars—and may be removed from office by the company. And any other member absenting himself from a fire without sufficient excuse, or disobedient to the orders of the commanding director, shall pay a fine of one dollar—excepting any one who is then on duty as a fire-ward, or whose building is then on fire.

6. It shall be the duty of the clerk and treasurer to record all votes and proceedings of the company and keep an exact account of all fines and forfeitures received, and all payments made by him; and once in three months, at least, and oftener, if he shall see cause, it shall be his duty to inspect the bags and buckets of each member, and, in case he shall find either out of place or out of order, the owner shall pay for each, sixteen cents.

7. Honorary members, not exceeding eight, may be admitted as other members are, and shall be holden to attend the stated spring meetings, and to keep their bags and buckets in order, and send them to any fire.

8. All fines shall be paid to the treasurer, for the use of the company, within twenty days after notice from the treasurer, to the person incurring them, unless excused therefrom by the major part of the directors in town, and in case of refusal it shall be reported to the next stated meeting; and any member so refusing to pay any fine incurred, or grossly disobedient to the orders of the presiding director at any fire, or otherwise in the judgment of a majority of the company, unfit to continue a member thereof, may at any stated meeting be voted out of the company.

9. When the bags and buckets of any member shall be lost in actual service

at a fire, the major part of the directors may order them replaced out of any money of the company in the hands of the treasurer.

10. Every member shall within three months after these rules are accepted, or in three months after his admission, be obliged under a penalty of sixteen cents to provide himself with a copy of these rules and a list of the members of the company.

William Pynchon, Joseph Williams, Jonathan Dwight, Samuel Lyman, Luke Bliss, Zebina Stebbins, Zenas Parsons, Charles Sheldon, Chauncy Brewer, John Hooker, Bezaleel Howard, Wm. Sheldon, James Byers, George Bliss, Thomas Dwight, Jacob Sargeant, William Smith, Daniel Lombard. Honorary members: John Worthington, Moses Bliss.

The parish quickly learned that the possession of an engine entails expenses. Wood and iron will break, and leather will burst, as our worshipful forefathers found out. During the year 1794, Col. William Smith was paid £1 2 0 for sundry expenses; Justin Lombard, 10s for collar for engine; Pitt Bliss furnished six buckets for £2 12 6; Joseph Hopkins mended the engine 3 shillings' worth; Festus Bliss fixed the poles on the fire hooks, for which he was paid 6 shillings, and Zebina and Thomas Stebbins furnished sundries for same, 2 pounds and 15 shillings' worth. Joseph Hopkins was paid \$26.64 (money commenced being reckoned decimally) for making hooks for engine. April 3, 1797, Thaddeus Ferre was paid 66 cents for poles for fire-hooks. In 1799, Jonathan Dwight & Son were paid \$2.83 for oil and nails for the engine and engine-house. In 1800, Joseph Hopkins was paid \$2.67 for work on engine. In 1805, Henry Hubbard repaired the engine to the amount of \$1.50.

Mr. Elijah Blake, one of our oldest citizens, certainly our oldest fireman, came to Springfield in 1808. Every man that was able-bodied was obliged to do military duty, the only exemption being the fire department. Mr. Blake first joined the artillery, but, in May, at the spring meeting, he left the military arm of the service and attached himself to the engine company. He is quite positive that the old engine came into possession of the parish between the years 1780 and 1790, and that it was built in Philadelphia. At the time, 1808, there were three of these engines in the town, all of similar construction. Two were owned by the United States government, one being stationed

on the hill and the other at the water-shops. There was also a hook-and-ladder company. Fires were frequent, and oftentimes very bad ones, necessitating much hard work and exposure. All-night jobs were of frequent occurrence.

At the armory all the work was done in those days with charcoal, which was stored in large sheds. These would sometimes ignite from some cause or other, and burn a week. Mr. Blake says the only compensation he ever received for over thirty years' fire duty was at one of these fires on the government grounds; after working nearly all of one rainy day, and staying out all night, he, as foreman of the company, received one dollar and a half, and each fireman was paid one dollar, by paymaster John Chaffee of the armory. The officers of the fire companies were chosen on the first Monday in May.

Oliver B. Morris, George Bliss and John Howard, all served in the capacity of fire-wards, whose duties and offices were similar to our chief and assistant engineers of the present time.

The engine house, as built in 1792, was located near the corner of State and Market streets, on land owned by the parish. State street at that time was much narrower than at present, originally being laid out only two rods wide, and the little building was set well out into the street. It was made just large enough and high enough to take in the engine, and by considerable squeezing the larger portion of the company could crowd in around it. The ground about and back of the house is described as "a deep marsh, and water was frequently standing there in great depth." At this time, the town of Springfield, although covering a large territory, contained less than 1,800 inhabitants, all told. About 1826, the engine-house was torn down to make room for the town hall, and a new one built where is now the south-west corner of Sanford and Market streets, in rear of where H. & J. Brewer's store now stands.

"The engine" is described as a substantial and thoroughly built machine, quite a model of workmanship for those days. The "tub" measured about two feet by four across the top, and was originally painted a bright yellow. It was equipped with an upper and lower tier of brakes, the latter when not in use

being folded back out of the way. When in action, they were let down and worked across the ends of the machine. Three men could work on each of the upper brakes by standing upon the top of the engine, and about ten men could work advantageously on each of the lower brakes by part of them standing inside. The power was thus brought to bear upon the pumps directly, and to the best advantage, and quite satisfactory results were usually obtained. A run of two or three miles was nothing unusual, and several times the engine went to Longmeadow for duty. For these occasions an old breast-collar with proper attachments hung up on a peg in the house, so that it could be put upon a horse, which would thus be a valuable aid in dragging the engine to its destination.

An alarm of fire was the occasion for a general turn-out of the inhabitants who were able to respond. Men and boys seized the buckets and bags which were kept in every house, and started for the scene. All the meeting-house bells were rung, and everybody cried "fire" at the top of their voices. When the "Goodman" was not at home, the "Goodwife" tossed out of the door the buckets and bags, that they might be caught up by the passer-by and carried where they might be of use. "The engine" was quickly pulled from the house, the rope run out and caught by eager hands, and started for the burning building, and drawn up as close as circumstances would admit. Strong men manned the brakes, and two lines were quickly formed, one, of the more able-bodied, to pass water in buckets to the engine from the nearest available place, and the second line, often composed of women and boys, passed back the empty buckets to the brook or well where the supply was obtained. This duty was generally performed so rapidly that a constant supply was kept in the engine.

The old "town brook" was the main reliance, and until the Western railroad was built, it was of great value for fire purposes. The supply of water was always abundant and easily obtained. When at a distance from the brook, wells, cisterns, and even large mud-puddles were drawn upon. This manner of fighting fire did not require any great expenditure for hose.

Originally, only five feet were used with the engine, the foreman standing on top and directing the stream. When Mr. Blake joined, in 1809, there had been twenty-five feet added to the supply. The senior fire-ward present had full charge of the operations at the fire. Mr. Blake, as before stated, joined the company in 1809. At the first fire, he happened to take his place on the upper tier of brakes in the center, "before the mast," as he called it, and for the ten years he served as engine-man, he always took the same position. If he was away at the beginning, the place was kept vacant until he came. He says that fires were quite frequent, much more so, comparatively, than now, especially of dwelling-houses. In 1810, the Dwight house, which stands now where it stood then, on the corner of State and Dwight streets, took fire in the roof. James Wells was foreman, and could not reach with his stream the desired spot. He called upon Mr. Blake to mount the roof, and, with the help of other resolute men, the building was saved. The water, at this time, was all passed from the "town brook" in buckets.

At the annual spring meeting of the company, in May, 1820, Mr. Blake was chosen foreman, and served in that capacity ten years, or until 1830, when the state took up the matter of fire departments and created fire districts, and at which time the office of chief engineer came into fashion. Mr. Blake was appointed the first chief engineer of the Springfield fire department, in which capacity he served the town more than ten years, although he had several times desired to resign and retire from active service. After Mr. Blake's promotion to the foremanship, Mr. James Wells took the position of company clerk, which place he held a long time. George Bliss, Esq., served under Mr. Blake as first assistant engineer, the whole term. Upon the latter's retirement, the citizens of Springfield, as a testimonial of their appreciation of his long and faithful service and devotion to the town's interests, presented him, July 4, 1844, with a silver pitcher suitably inscribed. At the armory fire, which will be hereafter noticed, Mr. Blake was foreman, and by energetic management saved the chapel building from destruction.

Such a thing as warming an engine-house was unknown in those days. Mr. Blake says that the first time they ever experienced that luxury was after they had moved to Market street; some of the men "hooked" an old stove and pipe, and they put it up in the house "for the public good." Many a cold night he has come down and built a fire to keep the pumps from freezing up. Of the old foremen who served before James Wells, who immediately preceded Mr. Blake, the following are mentioned: Festus Bliss, Oliver Collins, Eleazer Williams, Thomas Sargeant, and William Ely. The latter was a very prominent man of the time, and represented his district in Congress several terms. An amusing story is recollected of Foreman Oliver Collins. It was the duty of the foreman of the company to hold the pipe. At his first parade he got upon the engine, as was the custom, pointed his pipe straight up into the air, and gave his orders to "down brakes." The stream of water was a success when it went up, but when it came down it completely deluged the men and drove them from the brakes. After Mr. Blake, Apollos Marsh served as foreman a number of years.

After the Unitarian Church was built it was provided with an exceedingly sharp and clear-toned bell, and this was the main dependence of the town as a fire-alarm, until within about twenty-five years of the present time. The expenses of running the fire companies of the olden time were very moderate. The manual labor was all voluntarily given, and the repairs to the simple apparatus were not costly. In 1811, the parish paid Alexander Bliss \$19.75 for leather, and Joel Miller \$12.50 for labor for a new length of hose. In 1812, Packard & Huntington were paid \$2.00 for repairing engine, and Elam Stebbins received \$3.00 for work on engine-house. In 1814, it was a trifle more expensive; Elijah Blake got \$6.17 for repairs on engine, and Joshua Childs received \$2.04 for fire hooks; and in 1815, Alexander Bliss fixed the hose \$1.96 worth,—probably sewed up a rip. The same year, the old horse collar that had been in use since '94, gave out, and Grennell & Baker made a new one for \$3.50. In 1818, the engine had to be fixed up a little, and James Wells, the foreman, was allowed \$2.50 for same, and Mr. Gren-

nell was paid \$1.50 for labor on engine-buckets. The last payment was in 1821, when Mr. Blake, foreman, was allowed \$2.00 for repairs. About this time the parish seems to have gone out of the engine business, as that appears to be the last sum paid out by them for fire purposes.

About this time (1820), Springfield was growing rapidly in population and wealth. The 1,800 souls in 1794 had increased to 4,000 in 1820. Larger houses and taller stores had been and were being erected; and the attention of the leading and influential citizens was called to the limited means at hand for extinguishing fires. The firemen had heard tales, brought from the large cities, of engines that drew their own water, and played incredible distances through extraordinary lengths of hose. The firemen of the time, like all firemen before or since, were never satisfied unless they had "the best." They began to see that thirty summers and winters had begun to tell on the old machine. The pumps did n't seem to work quite as well as they used to; it was getting to be too much work to pass the water in lines, and something should be done. The matter was talked up thoroughly for some time, and at last in the warrant calling the town meeting for Monday, the 22d of March, 1824, the following clause was inserted: "Sec. 14. To ascertain the sense of the town as to the propriety of adopting some further measures of precaution and security in case of fire, and a more efficient system of action on the occurrence of such calamity." The meeting voted that George Bliss, Esq., John Hooker, Esq., Justice Willard, Esq., Solomon Hatch, Esq., and Jona. Dwight, Jr., Esq., be a committee to consider what measures are proper to be adopted by the town as precautions and security against fire, and a more efficient system of action on the occurrence of such calamity, and make report.

The committee reported: That the fire-wards be requested to assemble and establish such regulations among themselves, by fixing some rule of subordination or designation to particular sources in such a way as they shall think best calculated to prevent confusion, and to ensure prompt exertion, and that they be authorized to procure, if they think proper, an extra number of

badges, and determine where they shall be kept. That the selectmen, for the time being, be authorized to direct what number of ladders shall be provided, and how and where they shall be kept. That a committee of three be appointed by the town to superintend the brook, and see that there be a supply of water running in it, where it passes through the street, sufficient to use in case of fire, and be authorized to license the turning off the whole, or a part of said brook, on particular occasions, and that they, at suitable places, make proper openings to have access to the water, and make such sluiceways and other apparatus for dams, so as to ensure the water to be free from sand and gravel, and that they be authorized to prevent and remove any obstructions in the brook in the highway that may prevent the current of water, or may accumulate sand, so that the water cannot be used for fire, and be authorized to prosecute persons guilty of breaches of these regulations. And that the town take measures to obtain authority to regulate the stoves, fire-places and chimneys of the inhabitants so that they do not expose buildings to be burned. Your committee have examined the fire-engine which, it will be recollected, was purchased by individual subscription. It is as good as could have been expected after so long use. It never had the power of casting water so forcibly as some have, and is not adequate to cases for which an engine may be needed. Your committee submit it to the town whether they will take any measure to get another engine. They recommend also that an additional supply of buckets be procured, to go with the present engine. In behalf of the committee,

GEORGE BLISS, *Chairman*.

The report was read, considered and accepted, and the part relating to fire-engine and buckets was referred to a special committee, consisting of Justice Willard, Jonathan Dwight, Jr., and Robert Emery, Esq. Robert Emery, Moses Bliss and Elijah Blake were appointed a committee to superintend the brook. Jonathan Dwight, Jr., George Bliss and John Hooker were appointed a committee to regulate the stoves, fire-places and chimneys of the inhabitants, "so that they do not expose buildings."

The following paper was then read by the PRESIDENT:

THE OLD MAIN STREET JAIL AND HOUSE OF CORRECTION.

After the first House of Correction, which was located on Maple street, was burned by the Indians in October, 1675, there was no prison in the old county of Hampshire, in which prisoners could be confined. None had been previously erected in Northampton, and it was many years after this before any was located there except "a cage" for temporary use in 1695. To supply this need, the County Court, the members of which present were "the worshipful Major Pynchon, one of y^e Honored Assistants of y^e Colloney, Leift Wm. Clarke, Leift David Wilton, Mr. Peter Tilton and Leift Wm. Alice," at an adjourned session held at Northampton, January 10, 1677, took measures to provide a new prison by passing an order which is thus expressed in its records:

"This Corte considering y^e great want y^t there is in this County of a Prison & house of Correction, y^e old one being Burnt by y^e Indians w^h they set upon Springfield have therefore at this Corte Considered & ordered the Building of a suitable house to be Built for a house of Correction & Prison to be set up at Springfield, y^e ordering of which & management of y^e same is by this Corte left wholly unto y^e worshipfull Major Pynchon viz to agree & Conclude with workmen, to appoint y^e place it shall stand y^e dimensions of it & agree for itt; agreeing & allowing 50£ to be expended for y^t use & if w^h it is erected & Builded it Comes to 5£ more or thereabouts this Corte have agreed to allow itt and as neer as may bee not to exceed y^e sum aforesd."

In pursuance of this authority, the worshipful Major selected a site for the new prison and bargained with the owners for the title. It was on the westerly side of the Main street, between the house of Thomas Merrick and the house of Samuel Ely, senior, and fronted eight rods on the street. Five rods in width was purchased from Ely, and three rods from Merrick. It extended back from the street ten or eleven rods and afforded sufficient space for the prison and for a house for the residence

of the keeper. No deed of this lot was taken at the time of the bargain,—but in May, 1683, Ely executed a conveyance in due form to Peter Tilton of Hadley, the then County Treasurer, and Merriek conveyed his part in February, 1684. Upon this lot was erected the second prison in the old County of Hampshire. The site upon which it stood is now covered by the hotel known as the Union house. The house of the jailer adjoined it on the north side, and extended a few feet into what is now Bliss street.

The prison, although reasonably strong and safe for those times, and in the main answering the purpose for which it was designed, would not be regarded as a model one at the present day.

As described by one who saw it long after its use as a jail had ceased, and when it was doing duty as the L part of the house, to the rear of which it had been removed, it was a building about twenty-five feet long by eighteen wide, two stories high with three rooms on the second floor, and one large one, with closets, on the first floor. The walls and partitions were constructed of heavy white oak plank set up endwise. The outer door of the same material was very strong.

I have no means of determining how soon after Major Pynchon was charged with the duty of superintending the erection of this prison, the work was done and the building ready to receive its proper tenants. Probably it was finished the same year. It certainly was in use in 1680, for in December of that year, according to the old Pynchon record, an order was passed to commit one Thomas Hancock to the prison at Springfield, until he should give bond as required.

For at least one hundred and fourteen years this building was the jail and house of correction for the southern part of the County, and, for some years after its erection, the only one for the whole County.

In it were confined criminals under sentence and persons, awaiting trial charged with crimes, who were unable to furnish the required bail. It is not probable that prisoners of these two classes were very numerous in those early days. A large

proportion of the offenses then committed were of a milder type, such as were usually punished by a fine of from ten to forty shillings, to which was occasionally added an alternative sentence of "ten or fifteen stripes on the naked body well laid on," in case the fine was not paid.

It is recorded, as if it were a rare case requiring action out of the ordinary course, that in May, 1722, Capt. Ebenezer Pumry, High Sheriff of the County, moved the Court of General Sessions of the Peace holden at Springfield "that he might be Enabled to Provide for the subsistance of Ovid Rushbrook and John Blin, Two Prisoners under the Custody of the s^d Sheriff in his Majesties Goal in Springfield for Counterfeiting bills of Cred^t &c there being as yet no order taken to support their s^d subsistance." Imprisonment for debt was in order in that benighted age, and perhaps those who most frequently enjoyed the hospitalities of the old jail were persons who either could not or would not pay their debts. Prisoners of this class have been confined in our prison in times much later than those of the Main street jail.

It appears that prisoners occasionally escaped from this jail. In the year 1726, one Edward Smith, who had been committed on execution for debt at the suit of Samuel Pettibone of Simsbury, availed himself of the insecure condition of the prison, to go at large without paying the debt, and thereupon Pettibone petitioned the Court, that the debt might be paid him out of the County treasury, and the Court being of opinion that the escape was through the "defect of the Goal," granted the petition. This cost the county seven pounds, ten shillings and four pence.

Considerable sums of money were appropriated by the Court of General Sessions of the Peace to repair the jail and render it more secure as a place of confinement, and committees were from time to time appointed to carry out the changes. For instance, in September, 1700, the Court "ordered that Lt. John Hitchcock, James Warriner, Senior, and Luke Hitchcock, be a Committee to take Care and see that the Comon Goal in Springfield be Sufficiently amended and Repaired for the Safe Keeping

all prisoners in Custody according to Law at the Charge of the County." Other and similar orders were from time to time passed. One of these orders, in May, 1706, indicates that there was some difficulty in getting the necessary work done—for Deputy Sheriff Luke Hitchcock, who was charged with the duty of causing the work of repairs to be done, was also "Impowrd to Impress any workmen for effecting the same."

In the year 1794, the courts of the old county of Hampshire, which had been held alternately at Springfield and Northampton from the time when the county of Hampshire was established and Northampton made a half shire town in 1662, were all by law transferred to Northampton, because, as alleged in the act, "on account of its central situation, it appears to be the most suitable place and the most likely to give general satisfaction to the inhabitants" of the county. With that removal of the courts all occasion for the prison at Springfield ceased. All commitments thereafter were to the jail and house of correction at Northampton. By order of the justices of the court of sessions, Moses Bliss, Warham Parks and Sylvester Judd were appointed a committee with authority, for and in behalf of the county of Hampshire, to make sale of all the property of the county situate in Springfield, a service which they performed by conveying for the consideration of two hundred pounds the prison lot, with the house, barn, prison and other buildings thereon, to William Colton. Colton had been the keeper of the prison, and then occupied the house. He removed the jail building to the rear of the house and converted it into a kitchen. About sixty years ago Elam Stockbridge became the owner of this property and occupied the house for a time as a dwelling house. When Bliss street was opened it became necessary to remove the old buildings. The house was removed to a location farther west on the southerly side of Bliss street, where it stood for several years just east of the then "South Church." The old jail was demolished.

This prison during the one hundred and ten years of its existence as a place of confinement was doubtless the scene of many interesting incidents, the record and memory of which has per-

ished. Tradition has preserved, with some degree of particularity, the occurrence of one transaction, of which the old prison was the witness, that produced a good deal of excitement at the time, and for years afterwards formed the subject of many a gossiping talk among cronies around the tea-table or by the bar-room fireside. It was this. In the month of September, in the year 1770, there were two prisoners in the jail who occupied the same room and were its only inmates. One was William Shaw and the other Edward East. For what cause they were imprisoned I have no means of telling. The records of the criminal court of that period, now at Northampton, do not contain their names, and it is probable that they were committed by some magistrate for some minor offense, or were awaiting trial, or possibly they may have been imprisoned debtors. Be that as it may, on Tuesday morning, September 18, 1770, it was found that East was dead on the floor of his room, and the marks of violence upon his person were of such a nature as to show that he had been murdered. As Shaw was the only other occupant of the cell, it was equally clear that he was the murderer. Murders were not so common in those days as they have been of late. I am not aware that there is any record of one occurring in this town, or its vicinity, previous to this, excepting of course those perpetrated by the savages nearly one hundred years before. It may well be conceived that this homicide created a great sensation in this quiet village with a population of not exceeding fifteen hundred inhabitants. Of the previous history of East, where he belonged, or what brought him to this vicinity I have no information. The name is not a Springfield name, and probably he was a transient person, who had drifted into this part of the State from the vicinity of Boston, where the name is found early, and, for some misdemeanor, had been confined in this jail. Rev. Mr. Breck, then the minister here, in the record kept by him of deaths in the first parish of Springfield during his ministry, under date of September 17, 1770, simply makes this entry, "Edward East murdered in Goal." As Mr. Breck was the only minister in this part of the town, and would naturally be called upon to attend the funeral of East, no inference should be

drawn from this entry that East had been long a resident in this parish.

Shaw, the perpetrator of this crime, was a resident and native of Palmer, where he had a wife and eleven children at the time of this homicide. He was the only surviving son of his aged parents, who were then living. He was an intemperate man, and this fact probably had a direct connection with his imprisonment, if not with the murder of East. I have been told that he denied all knowledge of the crime, asserting that, if it was committed by him, he must have been drunk and unconscious of the act. As the law does not recognize the right of a man voluntarily to deprive himself of his consciousness by the use of intoxicating liquor, or regard it as any excuse for his criminal acts when in that condition, this plea did not avail him. He was speedily brought to trial before the Court of Assize and General Goal Delivery, as the highest court invested with criminal jurisdiction was then called, convicted of murder and sentenced to be hung. This sentence was carried into execution on the 13th of December following, less than three months after the commission of the crime. There is a tradition that, shortly before the day appointed for his execution, Shaw made an attempt to escape, dressed in the clothes of his wife, who had been permitted to visit him. The attempt was very nearly successful. Wearing his wife's riding hood which concealed partially his face, he was so completely disguised that he passed out by the jailer, and had reached the outer door without detection. But there he looked back to see if all was right. This movement revealed him to the keeper and frustrated his attempt. He was at once taken back to his cell, and, at the appointed day, was conveyed to the place of execution, which was upon the hill near the present location of the Armory. There, in the presence of the condemned man and the assembled throng, a sermon was preached by the Rev. Moses Baldwin of Palmer. The text of this discourse was from the first Psalm, fifth verse, first clause, "Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in judgment." The fearful results of a vicious course of life upon the individual himself and those connected with and dependent upon him were faith-

fully portrayed. And the dying man was earnestly exhorted to seek from God that mercy which could save his soul.

The execution followed. It is said that the gallows was so high that in that day, when there were no trees or buildings to obstruct the view, the body of the suspended victim could be seen from the Main Street.

After death had taken place, the body of Shaw was delivered to his friends and conveyed to Palmer for burial.

In the year 1782 this same old jail was the scene of another lawless transaction, that produced great excitement in this community, although not attended with any tragedy like the murder of East. It grew out of the commotions in the public mind, that three or four years later, culminated in what is known as Shays's insurrection. One of the most notorious agitators of that period was one Samuel Ely. His aim was to create a popular prejudice against the courts of law and the administration of justice, and he succeeded in converting to his own views numbers of discontented persons, particularly in the old county of Hampshire. In pursuance of his purpose, he had the audacity to assemble a mob to prevent the sitting of the court of common pleas at Northampton. For this he was indicted in the supreme court, and, pleading guilty, was sentenced to imprisonment in the Springfield jail. While in confinement here, under that sentence, a mob of persons, who sympathized with him, gathered at the jail at a time when many of the inhabitants of Springfield were absent from the town, and forcibly released him. These outbreaks in 1782 were the precursors of those larger and more formidable demonstrations of an armed resistance to the government of this State that, on the 25th of January, 1787, brought Shays and about eleven hundred of his followers face to face, on Armory Hill, with an inferior number of the loyal militia of the County under the command of General William Shepard. In that encounter the insurrection received a blow from which it never recovered.

JANUARY 1, 1877.—QUARTERLY MEETING.

MR. JOSEPH WHITE, of Williamstown, delivered an interesting address on the "Derivation of English names," especially the names of mountains, rivers and towns.

REV. JOHN W. HARDING, present pastor of the First Church of Christ in Longmeadow, read a sketch of Dr. Stephen Williams, original pastor of the church, 1716-1782, being extracts from an unpublished historical sermon entitled, "A Century of Longmeadow."

DOCTOR STEPHEN WILLIAMS.

The occasion limits me to rapid glances through the vista of the first hundred years of Longmeadow, as prominently identified with its first two pastorates; that of Dr. Stephen Williams, and that of Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, the former ministering here sixty-six years, the latter thirty-four, and together completing the official service of the century.

True history revolves around its central and leading characters, and such for their times were these venerated pastors; not simply by their own native force and sterling character, nor by the prestige of their office, but by the common consent of the generations whom they served. The nucleus of the New England township, its crystallizing unit, was the Christian ministry. Accordingly, the very first public record of Longmeadow thus begins:

"Province of the Massachusetts Bay: At a session of the Great and General Court or Assembly held at Boston, February 10, 1713: It being represented that the petition of that part of the town of Springfield, commonly called Longmeadow (although not fully up to the number of forty families), are of good and sufficient ability to maintain a minister; and sometimes cannot, with any conveniency, attend the public worship of the meeting-house that now is in said town, by reason of the great distance from it: Ordered—That the prayer of the petition be granted"—with the provision that in due season the petitioners shall provide themselves with "a learned and orthodox minister, and

agree to raise and pay the sum of £50, at least, annually for his support." In like manner, William Pynchon and his associates, the fathers of Springfield, enter its first record, dated May 14, 1636: "We, whose names are underwritten, being by God's providence engaged together to make a plantation over against Agawam, on the Connecticut, do mutually agree to certain articles. Firstly: We intend, by God's grace, as soon as we can, with all convenient speed, to procure some godly and faithful minister, with whom we purpose to join in church covenant, to walk in all the ways of Christ."

Thus is emphasized the fact that the foremost thought of our town fathers was the establishment and maintenance of the Christian ministry.

Their next thought we find inscribed, on the second page of the precinct book, is the resolve "to proceed in the building of a meeting-house, and to accomplish it so far as to raise, shingle and clapboard the same by the first day of January next."

And their next thought, which we find on the third page, is "to have a schoolmaster to teach our children to read and write."

Sturdy, sensible, energetic men, they proceeded at once from such thoughts to action. They waited for no Home Missionary aid or impulse. The fire was in their bones. While Nathaniel Burt, Samuel Keep, Thomas Colton, Samuel Stebbins, Thomas Hale, Committee, were urged "to take care to provide workmen and materials to carry on the work of the said meeting-house to that maturity, and by the time as aforesaid," it was further voted "to call a learned orthodox minister to dispense the word of God to us *this winter*, in order to a settlement among us," and further, "that the committee take care to provide such a minister as speedy as may be, and in the first place to take advice of the elders in order to procure one suitable for us." With such caution and such dispatch the suitable one was provided in Stephen Williams. He came here in 1715, a young man of twenty-two, and after preaching and performing pastoral duty for several months as a candidate, accepted a call. He was offered a salary of "£55 yearly for the term of five years, and

then to add £5 per year until we make it £50, and further to add thereto if his necessity calls for it, and to pay him half his rate in grain at current money. Also to give him, besides his salary, £200 settlement money, to fence two home-lots on the hill, forty rods backward from the street, and to break up three or four acres for an orchard in the home-lot that he shall choose." Our fathers had, by this time, learned that the home-lots in the long meadow where they began their settlement, were unsafe by reason of the floods.

The young minister, although a single man, begins immediate preparations for a better life. With characteristic energy and foresight he summons workmen and gathers materials, and several months before the ordination day, October 17, 1716, his house is raised. It occupied the site of the present parsonage, was two-storied, shingled throughout for its exterior covering, with a great central chimney, affording generous fire-places for the spacious north and south rooms and the roomy kitchen in the rear extension of the gable part. It was solid and ample, and built for a large family and hospitable intentions. We open the young pastor's diary and find this record: "This morning I heard that my neighbor Brooks was uneasy because of my being settled here, and because of my house being so stately, etc. Wherein he does amiss, I pray God to forgive him, and to give me to carry it becomingly that so I may win upon the people, and that so I may be serviceable among them. But, oh Lord, suffer me not to offend thy majesty to please man." He is going through a seasoning process, laying foundations of character, settling himself down for a ministry of sixty-six years. It is good for him to bear the yoke in his youth, although it sometimes galls and chafes. "I have heard," he says, "of some that have spoken meanly and reproachfully of me. God forgive them and help me heartily to do it, and, oh Lord, help me to walk inoffensively, that so none may have occasion to speak ill of me. Help me, oh Lord, to do my duty, and by no means to neglect that, to carry favor with man. Man had better be angry with me than God." Another day's record reads: "Abundance of discretion and prudence is required of a minister, he having

many persons of different persuasions and tempers and dispositions to treat withal. Lord assist me, make me considerate. The eyes of all are upon me. Give me to see Thee going before me in all my ways." The next day's entry is, "It has been said that, before a man's ordination, he must expect people's mouths will be open. I find it is true. I pray God that he will not suffer me to give just occasion to any to find fault with religion."

His house-building demands fresh patience. "This day I was at my house, and the men fault one the other. I want prudence to manage inoffensively among them." The rain does some damage to his house, and he craves forgiveness for his undue concern about the matter, and for his "fearfulness as to the great things before me." Particularly his ordination, just at hand. Great responsibilities settle their heavy weight upon his youthful shoulders. There come but a few children to the catechising, and hence another shadow of depression. "Oh, Lord, help me to do my duty, if others do not theirs." "This day, after dinner, I took my gun and walked abroad." He thinks to refresh his tired spirits in the calm solitude of the woods. He is familiar with their leafy paths. Taken captive by the Indians when a boy of eleven years, at the sack of Deerfield, he had had an Indian training in the wild woods of Canada; he is skilled in wood-craft and has romantic memories of perilous adventures. There is tempting game in the Longmeadow woods. In one day's record of his diary, we read of the killing of a wild turkey, in another of a bear hunt, and in another of the ravages of wolves. But to-day his gun will not divert him, and the woods fail of their wonted solace. "Almost all the time I was gone," so the record runs, "these words were in my mind, '*Minister verbi es, hoc age.*' Thou art a minister of the word, this must thou do."

He thinks in Latin, as some of the early New England ministers wrote and published in Latin—a graduate of Harvard, son of a clergyman,—Rev. John Williams of Deerfield,—his brothers and uncles clergymen, as were three of his own sons afterwards,—in the line of Increase and Cotton Mather and other scholarly

divines, he had not only from a child known the holy Scriptures, but was trained in all gentle and godly nurture, and inherited the wealth of ancestral character and culture, as well as "the unfeigned faith," which Paul says, in addressing Timothy, "first dwelt in thy grandmother Lois and in thy mother Eunice." Eunice Mather, his sainted mother, was killed by an Indian hatchet on the second day of that terrible journey from burning Deerfield, but he never forgot her tender counsels, and her impress was always visible in his daily life.

A week before the ordination, the Longmeadow people keep a fast to seek the divine direction and blessing on its proceedings. Neighbor ministers, Mr. Edwards and Mr. Woodbridge, preach the sermons.

The day arrives, and the young minister chides himself for being so much concerned and perplexed, he fears more about its outward than its inward business. There is a great assembly, a handsome entertainment for the reverend elders, and Nathaniel Bliss, Jr., is granted liberty by the quarter sessions to entertain the strangers and others who may be present at the ordination. In those days the public interest in ordinations was so great that the services were adjourned to the open field, or, as Dr. Williams has it, "held abroad." His record for this day runs, "This day I was solemnly set apart for the work of the ministry. My father began the exercise with prayer, my Uncle Williams of Hatfield preached, Mr. Stoddard, Mr. Taylor and my father laid on hands, Mr. Taylor prayed, and Mr. Stoddard gave a most solemn charge, and prayed." It relieves somewhat the solemnity that seems a weight almost too heavy for the young pastor's burdened heart, to read this after-thought respecting some that lingered to enjoy a social interview: "I fear we were too merry together." But the next day we strike the key-note that vibrated through all that long and faithful ministry: "Now the people are all gone, God help me to lay myself out for himself and his service, and set about it in earnest." That was no transitory purpose. The Lord was with him in it until his spirit returned to God. And the people set about their work in earnest. They managed the temporalities, while the pastor's business was

the care of souls. And yet he had enough of worldly business to make him practical, to identify him with their daily cares, struggles and temptations. He could be no cloistered monk nor mouldy celibate. He must be his own building committee; must take care of his orchard after they had broken it up and fenced it for him; must improve the ministry lands which were among the perquisites of his salary; must turn the grain of various sorts which stood for half his stated salary, into beef and milk and pork; must know how to deal to advantage with hired men, and how to gather into barns, to draw up wills, to advise in many cases that then belonged to the indefinite border land between Church and State. In fine, the minister of that day was necessitated by a thousand circumstances, to prudence and caution and tact and sympathy and the practical knowledge both of men and affairs. At the same time the people were sturdy in their independence. They would do their work in their own way and their own time. Everything that concerned the prudential affairs of the parish must be discussed and voted on in open meeting under their own moderator, and he a layman. They were liable to heats and contentions, but these must work themselves clear in time, and clerical impatience or interference would not hasten it. Mr. Williams finds things out by the patience that works experience. He laments on almost every page the uneasinesses that arise, he dreads contentions and confusions. But he finds that, as the pot boils, the scum rises. The fermentations work on the whole for good. Things improve, slowly, but visibly. They lay out the burying-ground, ten rods long, and four wide, establish a pound, build a school-house, add as they are able to the meeting-house, paying as they go, at first content with the simple necessities of doors and floors and rude settles, then hanging two casements or glass windows, afterwards, as years progress, laying the gallery floor—in 1729 finishing the wall with lath, plaster and white-wash, and flooring the bell-chamber. A bell was voted about that time, but not procured till 1744. The drum meanwhile was beaten along the street by Deacon Nathaniel Burt, or some other worthy citizen, as the sign for public worship. Two glass win-

dows more were hung on the north side. The precinct committee are charged repeatedly "to take care of securing the meeting-house at the corners of the underpinning, where the wind hath blown away the sand." This became so great an evil that finally paving-stones were laid around the building. Instead of our beautiful green, the characteristic feature then was the blowing sand. A traveler chancing to pass through our street at a much later period, recorded on the tablets of his memory only two distinct impressions—the sand was ankle-deep, and the houses were all painted red. Probably the first meeting-house was entirely innocent of paint, both externally and internally, as were many of the private houses of that day. They were of much the same pattern, of simple cubic form, one or two storied, with an L, and afterwards the L enlarged and transformed into a lean-to with its long sloping roof. There was strength in the massive timbers, the huge central chimneys, the ponderous well-sweeps; there was rude and breezy comfort in the spacious, crackling fire-places, the great back-logs, the mountainous wood-piles, the well-scoured floors, the rush-bottomed chairs. There was more social cheer and open hospitality than in these days of railroads and hotels and restaurants; but beauty had not yet wedded itself to strength, nor had taste been joined to comfort. It was the era of home-spun and the spinning-wheel and the dye-tub, the village tailor and fuller and shoe-maker. The work was done at home, and all must work. The era of street improvements had not arrived. The chip-heap and hay-stack and rail-fence and sunny, steaming barn-yard and straggling foot-paths rejoiced the fathers' eyes more than trim lawns and flowering parterres and croquet grounds and smooth rolled sidewalks do ours. Thanks to their wise foresight for this noble street with its ample room for ever-increasing beauty, secure to advancing generations, which greed and speculation cannot narrow, but it was simply the foresight of economy, and no æsthetic instinct, that planned it so. Our fathers wanted it for their "home commons" to secure the convenience of turning out

their cattle. The highway was laid twenty rods wide for the purpose of pasturage.*

Indians were not far away, and not always to be trusted, and in the woods there were bears and wolves. John Keep, one of the selectmen, his wife and their child Jabez, were slain by the Indians, a little northward of Pecowsic brook, on the 26th of March, 1676, as they were going to meeting at Springfield town, and according to some accounts, several more in the company were wounded, and two women and two children carried away captive. On Long Hill was the Indian fort, into which three hundred of King Philip's warriors were secretly admitted the night or two before the burning† of Springfield (October 5, 1675). The Indian attacks and depredations, frequently mentioned in Dr. Williams's diary, continued along this valley, from time to time, until 1758.‡

To know how God was with our fathers, we must know their difficulties, the obstacles that tried their faith and tested their endurance.

Let us go back now and take up the thread of the young minister's experience, for it is our historical clue, and around this central character events will naturally arrange themselves in proper order.

His ordination passed, fresh trials come. Mouths still continue open. "I meet," he says, "with many difficulties and discouragements. Some of my neighbors seem to be exceedingly out of humor because of what has been said and done about singing. Oh Lord, Thou art the best helper. I desire humbly to commit myself to thy guidance. Without Thee I can do nothing. I have taken a great deal of pains and used all likely means (as I supposed) to make my neighbors easy—but, all will

* The cattle were all branded, and each man's brand recorded.

† In the inventory of the estate of Nathaniel Bliss, taken February 14, 1655, cows were appraised at about \$16 each, while the best of home lot and meadow land was about \$5 per acre.

‡ The scout from Windsor who saved Springfield from a dreadful massacre, rode in hot haste through Longmeadow at the dead of night.

‡ A Longmeadow young man of the Stebbins family gave the information that caused the great Indian overthrow at Turner's Falls.

not do, unless the Lord set in by 'His Spirit.'" It not unfrequently requires the divine aid to get well through singing difficulties; but in this case they taxed the young pastor's discretion to the very utmost limit. The daring innovation that Mr. Williams advocated was, probably, the singing by note. "Truly," says a writer in the *New England Chronicle* of that day, "I have a great jealousy that if we once begin to sing by note, the next thing will be to pray by rule, preach by rule; and then comes popery." It was very earnestly objected "that it was a new way—not so melodious as the usual way—there were so many tunes, one could never learn them—that it was popish—that it would introduce instruments—that it was needless, the old way being good enough—that it was only a contrivance to get money—that the new way made disturbance in churches, grieved good men, exasperated them and caused them to behave disorderly." This last objection was certainly a practical one, for we read, "This day, my neighbors, Eliakim and Samuel Cooley, arrested the congregation in singing, so that I was forced to speak to them. I desired them (as a minister of Christ and watchman of this flock) not to make any disturbance. They were something more quiet, but there seems to be too great an heat of spirit. Oh, that God would guide and direct what is to be done in this matter, and give me to do my duty." In the afternoon of that distracting Sabbath, he preached from John's Gospel, chapter 14.27. "Peace I leave with you, etc. Let not your heart be troubled." "These words," he says, "have afforded me considerable comfort: I bless God for it."

He speaks of tiring himself that day very much indeed, but rejoices that it is in the Lord's service. We cannot but think that the singing had something to do with his weariness. He awakes the next morning with a very heavy heart because of the "uneasiness among his neighbors."

"I went up to advise with Mr. Brewer (the Springfield pastor) and am much easier, having had his thoughts. I bless God I have such a neighbor as Mr. Brewer, who is a judicious, solid man, and is very ready to direct and advise me."

I can discern nothing in this good man's daily record of the

affectation, or of that prophetic self-consciousness, which is apt to spoil the genuineness of a personal diary. If I did I would not so freely quote from it. There is a manifest simplicity and godly sincerity pervading every word, coupled with a quaint homeliness, that endear this man to us, and make us delight to linger over these simple incidents that so luminously reveal both his inner and his outer life. He begins the diary with no flourish of good intentions or resolutions, but with an account of his distressing experience with fever and ague. Then for several days he omits to write anything, but on beginning again says, "I have excused myself that I had nothing remarkable or worthy of noting, (oh doleful excuse, when every moment gives me fresh experience of God's wonderful mercy.) But of late, reading Mr. Henry's life, I have been persuaded that it would be of great service to keep a diary, and I do humbly pray that the great God would help me to take notice of his goodness and mercy toward me and help me to record it *thus*, that afterward (for my memory is very poor) I may look over these notes, and so not suffer a sense of God's mercies to be wholly lost."

He thus, in his early ministry, forms a habit of recounting and reviewing God's tender mercies, and it makes his spirit tender and grateful. He remembers the loving-kindnesses which have been of old, and it makes his spirit strong under heavy burdens. He gives special thanks on birth-days, on the anniversary of that dreadful night when the Indians took him captive, on the return of his ordination day, his marriage day.

About these times he begins to take mysterious journeys here and there. They must have excited the curiosity of the young women of his parish. They remind us of Jacob going to Padan-aram. His house approaches its completion. There are masons and joiners and many workmen. "The care of my business is very considerable and it does perplex me too much." Day after day goes up that lament, and the humble prayer that he may not be too much cumbered, and his tired nerves re-act upon his conscience and make it morbid. "I am afraid whether I had right aims in engaging in the work of the ministry, and seem to be under discouragements, and am ready to wish that I

had never engaged in the work." "This day I was with old father Burt. He is very sick and weak, and was backward to discourse. Whether it was his weakness only, or whether he was ready to despise or slight my youth, I can't tell; but it occasioned some uneasy thoughts in my mind."

This man needs a help-meet. He has to leave his old landlord and landlady Colton, and he finds his new landlady of a very melancholy turn, and we fear wastes his little remaining stock of spiritual vigor in attempting to carry her burdens. He looks, and we cannot see why he should not, on the dark side of things. He observes on the Sabbath day, after bewailing his dullness and "unaffectedness:" "Several of my neighbors seemed very uneasy about the singing. Their countenances seemed to evidence it, and some I fear, kept from meeting upon this account. Lord help and direct, compose their minds that are ruffled. Oh, chain up Satan. Forgive and direct *me*."

As he goes from meeting he calls in at the widow Gerald's. "Her daughter seems very much discouraged in her mind, and terribly harried by Satan's temptations. Lord help in this case, for we have no where else to go but to Thee. In the evening I was distressed considerably in my mind, because of the uneasiness of my neighbors about singing, which, I think I have reason to suppose proceeds from willfulness, and too much from a spirit of contention. But I something composed myself by considering I had referred the matter to God." Our hearts warm in sympathy with this burdened pastor. We wish he had some human heart nearer to his. "This evening Ensign Colton told me he had had thoughts that I was something biassed in my describing a deacon, and was afraid that I willfully omitted part of his character for some private reason." This was about the time that the original deacons were chosen,—Nathaniel Burt and Jonathan Ely,—and the questions about the ordination of deacons is another perplexing matter. But Ensign Colton seems to be satisfied with the account that Mr. Williams gives of himself, and as he retires, the sigh is breathed: "Oh, what need have I of prudence, of being as wise as a serpent and as harmless as a dove."

The next day he attends Mr. Brewer's weekly lecture, from

the text, 1 Thess. ii 4. "As we were allowed of God to be put in trust with the gospel, even so we speak, not as pleasing men, but God, who trieth our hearts." "It afforded me," he says, "peculiar satisfaction and comfort. I gave Mr. Brewer my particular thanks for it. I desire to bless God therefore, that he directed to such a subject."*

And when he comes home his heart again rejoices because Samuel Bliss comes to see him, and seems to be friendly and composed again. "Oh, how good and gracious God is," he exclaims, "how ready to hear our prayers. I desire to take courage and to be still waiting on Him."

The continual occurrence of familiar names in these records is interesting, and often tenderly suggestive. "This day died Ebenezer Bliss. He was a man likely to have been very serviceable in his generation."

In his vocation as a peace-maker Mr. Williams expends a large amount of magnanimous sensibility and fervent and effectual prayer. "This day, Lieut. Cooley and Capt. Burt came here—they had been many times before—and offer a great deal of discourse. They were brought to join hands and say that they desired heartily to forgive one another. I drew up something which they signed." It had been a bitter feud and disastrous influence. The next Sabbath the agreement was read before the congregation, and the pastor joined to it an earnest and affectionate exhortation.

In connection with his wonderful patience and gentleness, we almost wonder at his boldness and plainness as a reprover. He lets no man despise his youth, and he magnifies his office in rebuking with a grave authority.

"This day I again discoursed with and very severely reproved my neighbor, John Colton, for his drinking. Thus I desire to warn him whether he will hear me or no. I told him I desired to deliver my own soul, and if he should perish, his blood would

*It is a singular entry to us, if it was not to him, that after Mr. Brewer's lecture, "Goodman Booth was set in the pillory before the assembly."

The lectures were preaching services held on week days, and seem to have been well established in the popular favor, and largely attended.

be upon his own head. He seemed to be greatly uneasy, but after some talk was more penitent and said he was thankful to me."

But I must check myself in this freedom of quotation. I wish only to show from the testimony of his own guileless lips what spirit he was of, even when so young. And could you follow on this daily narrative through his middle life, and even beyond his three-score years and ten, it would be to admire that spirit more and more, as chastened by trial and strengthened and mellowed by experience, and sweetened and purified by the unfoldings of domestic affections and his larger responsibilities as a minister and a citizen.

Let me lead you now from this threshold of a personal acquaintance with the man, through a rapid survey of his life and its allied circumstances and events.

Those mysterious journeys become more frequent and converge in Stamford, Connecticut, where dwells, in her father's parsonage, Abigail Davenport. His prayers, for he in everything makes known his requests to God, have long been seeking direction in what he terms the great design that he has in mind.

The wedding day is set, July 3, 1718. The Stamford meeting-house is filled with a great congregation. Father Williams begins with prayer. Father Davenport preaches from Hebrews xiii. 4; and then performs the ceremony, which Mr. Williams says, "being before so great an assembly made the case look very solemn to me." The service ended with another prayer and singing.

In due time the pastor is seen riding on horseback through the street with his bride behind him, seated on a pillion. The neighbors have provided a handsome entertainment, and so begins, under happy auspices, the family life. It is a better life. His diary grows more cheerful, his character more robust. New demands develop larger faculties and gifts more various. Household cares and thronging hospitalities, cheerful guests, barns and cattle, men servants and maid servants, and spinning-wheels, absorb the time he used to give to condoling with his melancholy landlady and dissecting his own moral frames. Parochial calls

with his blooming bride are more enjoyable. Some are uneasy still about the singing. When they call at Eliakim Cooley's he will not hear his pastor's voice, will not even look up from his plough to answer the friendly salutation, nor come in to see the bride. But there are compensations. This unhappy sheep, who seems to have no music in his soul, by and by leaves the fold and joins the separates. The last record of him, "E. C. yesterday renounced his infant baptism by submitting to be dipped or plunged. The Lord be pleased to pity the poor man."

And then, the wood sleddings. On some bright, frosty winter day, the neighbors—and his parishioners are all neighbors—having seen the parson's wood-pile ready to vanish away, draw in the wood in characteristic loads, according to their several ability and disposition, some larger and some smaller, some straight and clear, some knotty and crooked. In one instance particular and grateful mention is made of a pile of walnut wood selected for his study fire. Sometimes the wood-pile towers to generous proportions, as the cheerful axes ring and the chips fly, and sometimes it is something less. The annual sleddings are good thermometers to indicate the temper of the parish. "This day my neighbors sledded wood for me, and many of them sent in very handsomely. For their kindness and respect I thank God; and for the harmony subsisting among us of late. Grant that it may subsist." Inside the house all are alive; the great kitchen fire-place roars a welcome, and there is enough to eat and drink, and sometimes the neighbors provide the entertainment.

Another great parochial day is the rate day, when each parishioner comes to pay his proportion of the salary rate in grain, and settle with the minister. Here, too, characters are tested. "I declined taking some corn that Capt. C. sent here this day. I think I acted upon a principle of justice. I desire that the Captain may be kept calm and composed." Mention is sometimes made of the people as being uneasy about their rates, and at one time, when money was very scarce, the whole salary was paid in grain at the current prices, which were carefully adjusted every year to a rising or falling market. And for contrast, "This day I have been reckoning with Dr. Pyncheon, who is very

ingenious and handsome. The Lord be pleased to reward his kindness. I am exceedingly well pleased with this gentleman's being in the neighborhood. But the Lord keep me from depending upon man and always sensible of my dependence on Himself."

Dr. Pynchon is a new resident from Springfield, and becomes a loving and trusted friend, "the beloved physician," as he is styled in the record, and a man of much ability and various accomplishments. He sometimes assists the pastor in the services of public worship.

Our fathers had no objection to "lay" assistance in public worship when it seemed necessary. The town of Springfield voted, in 1657, before Mr. Glover's settlement, that Deacon Wright should receive fifty shillings per month for "carrying on the public worship." Reading sermons was customary in the absence of an ordained minister, but the "worshipful" Mr. Pynchon was not so restricted, he, if he pleased, might deliver "his own meditations."

Our fathers were not fastidious or exacting as to public services. They permitted their ministers great liberty of going abroad and of exchanging, and their exchanges covered a great range. They traveled more extensively on horseback than the clergy of to-day do on railroads. Dr. Williams often goes on journeys to New Haven, Boston, Deerfield, Stockbridge. Ministers from every quarter are continually arriving at his house and lodging there. Hospitalities abound. They are very cordial and free. There seems to be leisure for them. The steam car, the telegraph, the daily press, and day and night expresses, have not yet brought in the rush and hurry of our fast and crowded life.

And yet there are no idle moments for minister or people. The less machinery, the more hand labor. The less money, the more barter. The long, slow journeys take many steps. The salary in grain must be turned into beef and pork to pay the debts. The many guests and the many children make a great household and much work.* It is not ministerial company alone.

* He speaks of having one day twelve chance guests at his table, and at another time of seven arrivals to spend the night.

There are hosts of relatives. Rector Williams of Yale, President Wheelock of Dartmouth, President Holyoke of Harvard, military officers with whom the Longmeadow pastor has served in three campaigns, the judges whom he always waits upon with courteous respect at the opening of the courts. He says that he believes in cultivating the best relations between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. He dines with the judges and lawyers in town. Judges Saltonstall and Sewall ride down to breakfast with him. Distinguished divines, like Dr. Cooper Coleman and Jonathan Edwards, are his correspondents and chosen friends. The frequent presence of such cultivated men and women at the parsonage, the sermons of the best preachers in his pulpit, bring into the village a culture which sends down its pervading influence to our day. The number of educated men who have been raised up in Longmeadow has a relation to the fact that the Williamses,—one of the largest and most highly educated and influential families known to the early history of New England, more than ninety bearing that name having been alumni of Harvard college, and more than eighty of Yale,—had here a central and prominent representative.

He was a very philanthropic and public spirited man. His charity began at home, and then it went abroad. He has a tender and pitying eye for all poor and distressed persons, and examines into their practical necessities, and then presses his people for contributions. The widow Steel's house must be repaired, and wood must be sledded to the widow Aitchison, contributions for Ann Bliss. Our Thanksgiving collection had its origin with him. Indeed, I find the original suggestions of almost everything we have now to rejoice in as true and good and beautiful in those old times. Our benevolent association is but the unfolding and enlargement of the old charity meeting. Our conference meeting is no improvement upon the weekly evening meetings which went from house to house, and the sermons that he so frequently repeated to the aged or the invalid at their homes. It is greatly to be doubted whether our Sabbath school instruction imparts more solid truth than did his frequent catechisings, which were often accompanied with special

sermons to the children. He had, also, a higher class of catechumens, and besides this, occasional familiar conferences with the young men at the school-house, where he encouraged them to propose questions. He believed in special prayer for special cases. "Last night," he writes, "some of us in the neighborhood met together to seek to God in behalf of Mr. Brewer's family," in which distressing sickness raged. At another time they meet together and seek to God for a daughter of Mr. Pynchon, who had lost her reason. In his private petitions recorded in his diary, he is continually remembering in tenderness of sympathy and the assurance of faith particular cases,—his children, servants, neighbors, neighbor churches and ministers, the prisoners in Springfield jail, whom he very often visits, as remembering Christ's words, "in prison and ye visited me.* Above all, his heart goes out for the Indians. He may justly be regarded as one of the chief pioneers of both our Home and our Foreign Missions. He was full of the missionary spirit. He knew the Indians by the experiences of his captivity. His sister Eunice, who was taken captive also, married an Indian, and could never be persuaded to renounce her savage life. Her visits with her husband to Longmeadow, especially the first one, her going to church, and how the whole place was moved at her coming, the prayers and tears for her conversion, the offer by the Legislature of a grant of land if she would stay, her unflinching stand to her Indian predilections and the Roman Catholic faith, make a romantic episode in our village history.

It may surprise you to hear that he was a slaveholder. "This day I bought me a servant man." He had already sold his negro

* "Make me an humble and a fruitful minister, a loving husband, a tender, prudent parent and master, a faithful friend. Wife has the vapors." "The Lord give prudence to behave right and kindly towards my dear wife in her vapors." "Considerably amiss this morning, and we rode to Somers. I hope it may be serviceable to lay the vapors." "The Lord be pleased to give me to carry it becomingly to Quakers, Baptists and such sort of people.

"Bless my children that are gone into families; let their families be such as God delights to bless. Let Samuel be preserved and protected, and taught now he is abroad, and in thine own time returned home in safety. Let Davenport have the gracious presence of God and health. Let Martha's health be precious in God's sight, and bring her willingly to sit at Jesus' feet. Be pleased to bless Nathan and make him a blessing," etc.

boy, Nicholas, and at different times we read of Phyllis and Peter, Tom and Cato. But it was the mildest form of servitude, and in those days seems not to have been thought of as a moral question.†

Then come the Indian boys whom Mr. Williams, from time to time, undertakes to educate and to clothe. They are sometimes unruly, and the good man is sometimes greatly perplexed with all his multifarious household cares. He knows not what to do in the great hurry and flutter, as he terms it, of his worldly business. "The spinners are here, and so we have a great and cluttered family." At another time his wife "is uneasy at the conduct of the young women who are spinning here." Mr. Sargeant, the Stockbridge missionary, comes to his house with a company of Indians, on their way to Boston to seek for contributions to the "gospellizing" work. He goes, himself, to an Indian Congress of several Indian tribes at Deerfield, to meet the Governor of Massachusetts, and is interpreter for the Housatronics. In his labors more abundant he seems to have the care of all the churches in this vicinity. In their frequent difficulties his advice is always sought.

There can be no question that in those days far greater demands were made than now, not upon the minister's intellectual powers, but upon his manhood, his piety and his wisdom, in a word, upon his character. Things were formative and unsettled. There was not the general intelligence that now pervades society. The minister was perplexed with foolish and unlearned questions. "This day, Thomas Cooley was here to advise with me whether it was convenient to go to a seventh son to be cured of the king's evil which he had." In his early ministry he is amazed to find that one Mary Tull does not know who the Lord Jesus Christ is. The feuds of that day, both private and public, were bitter and hard to heal. The people were shut in upon themselves and made much and long ado about matters which could not agitate a community whose minds are poised by the larger observation and a ripper experience. "Confusions,

† Cato speaks out loud in P. M. service—has drank too much cider—every now and then on the rampage—and is whipped very severely—and finally drowns himself in a well.

divisions, strifes, tumults in one place and another. People are ready to interpose in other people's affairs—which is apt to ruffle, etc.—difficult to manage with some people that are ignorant and willful.”

After the first controversy about singing has subsided, another arises concerning even the occasional introduction of Dr. Watts's Psalms. Dr. Williams takes the progressive side; he declares the uneasiness on this point to be groundless. He was in favor of having a pulpit Bible, although that innovation did not come, so far as I can ascertain, in his day. He invited George Whitefield to come here, while many of the conservative clergy were jealous and opposed. One of the bitterest controversies that ever distracted a community was that which concerned the settlement of Mr. Breck of Springfield, the successor of Mr. Brewer. It very greatly and very needlessly injured religion in all this region. Dr. Williams writes that the affairs of the town church lie so on his mind that he is broken of his rest.* He, with most of the neighboring ministers, is very warmly opposed to Mr. Breck's settlement, and will have nothing to do with the council, although invited, and yet afterward, won by Mr. Breck's beautiful character, he became, as everybody did, his earnest friend. I only mention it as an illustration of the liability of those days to heated and unprofitable controversies, which even our good pastor himself did not entirely escape. But when young Mr. Breck, soon after his ordination, asked his stern opposer and Longmeadow neighbor to marry him, Dr. Williams relents. “I think it prudent,” he says, “to consent. I can see no just objection to his being married, although I did object to his being ordained.”

There is another signal illustration in the revolutionary period, when a mob, comprising some of our prominent citizens, disguise themselves at night and despoil their neighbor, Merchant Samuel Colton, of valuable stores, on the ground that

* Prayers for the destitute flock in the town. Gentlemen from Boston are come to town—perplexed and full of fear—mighty ferment—more tongues let loose—confesses that he himself took occasion to speak warmly, but he says, “I hope not passionately.”

he will not sell them for the continental currency. Dr. Williams, who now is old and fearful, grieves over this as a sad token that the times are out of joint.

It may surprise you to know that Merchant Colton launched at least two vessels from our meadow bank, which carried freight for him to the West Indies, and brought him stores from Bristol, England. A bill of lading, signed by Edward Sargeant, the captain of one of these Longmeadow built vessels, the *Friendship*, delivering certain merchandise to Samuel Colton, is interesting as illustrating the recognition taken in those days of God and his providence in business transactions.

There were other significant recognitions of the Divine providence that stood out in the proceedings of our fathers. At the annual town meeting, by invitation of the Selectmen, a sermon was preached; at the raisings of buildings, and particularly public buildings, prayer was offered, although the subsequent jollity seemed not always to be consonant with that solemnity.

Dr. Williams grievously laments the excessive drinking in which too many indulge. He preaches strenuously against the sin of drunkenness, and often denounces tavern-haunting and company-keeping as practiced by the young.

It is sufficiently evident that previous to the times of George Whitefield's preaching tours and the great revival of 1740, there had been a gradual letting down of the tone of piety and of morals, and it is interesting and suggestive to see how that great wave of religious awakening swept along this valley, and with what majestic power it lifted up the churches, corrected abuses, elevated public morals, and put into the clergy a new spirit.

It is cheering as one reads the diary of the Longmeadow pastor to discern the approaching signs of better times, and even in the dim characters of the blurred and yellow manuscript to catch the revival impulse, and to feel its thrill. He thanks God for enlargement in the public worship, his prayers, if possible, grow more affectionate and fervent, he laments that in his parish calls the company and the currents of worldly conversation hinder his longing impulses to lead his flock in heavenly paths. A special meeting is held to crave the outpouring of the Spirit.

He says, "I went to town as one of the committee to consider measures to promote a reformation." "Several persons are with me to-day for advice and direction as to their souls." The ministers join hands, and go from town to town together. He is at Enfield. In the forenoon Mr. Merrick preaches a close sermon from Zech. xiii. 1, and the congregation are grave and attentive. In the afternoon they go to Suffield. There is a remarkable outpouring there of the Spirit. On the previous Sabbath ninety-five persons had been added to the church. "The sun an hour high, we had our service on the meeting-house hill. Brother Merrick began with prayer and Brother Woodbridge preached. The congregation remarkably attentive and grave."

After that exercise, "Some of the people seemed to take on for others." I suppose he means, engaged in earnest prayer and effort for them. "In the evening there was considerable crying out among the people in one part of the house and another." The same deep feeling was manifested in the streets, as the congregation dispersed, by audible signs. "One woman came to the house where I lodged, that was greatly distressed."

The same manifestations accompanied the services of the next forenoon, the discourses being solemn and the congregation much affected, and many crying out. It is evident that this great revival tide is sweeping to its full. In the afternoon they come to Enfield and meet "dear Mr. Edwards" of Northampton, who preached a most awakening sermon from Deut. xxxii. 35. It is the famous historical sermon entitled, "Sinners in the hands of an angry God." "And before sermon was done there was a great moaning and crying out throughout the whole house." "What shall I do to be saved—Oh, I am going to hell—what shall I do," etc., so that the minister was obliged to desist. "The shrieks and cries were piercing and amazing. After some time waiting the congregation were still, so that a prayer was made by Mr. Woodbridge, and after that we descended from the pulpit and discoursed with the people, some in one place and some in another,—and, amazing and astonishing—the power of God was seen—and several souls were hopefully converted that night, and, oh, the cheerfulness and pleasantness of their countenances

that received comfort. We sung a hymn and prayed and dismissed the assembly."

This is valuable testimony concerning the revival methods and manifestations of those days, aside from its local interest to us.

"In the morning," says Mr. Williams, "when I awaked I had a great desire in my soul that God would give me to see at Longmeadow what I had seen at Enfield. I seemed affected and moved, and ready to dissolve into tears."

And he did see it. He did behold the power and the glory of God here. The Divine influence had preceded him, the great revival wave had rolled on and lifted up the people here, and he found them flocking to God's house and waiting to receive the word, and as he looked upon that congregation, he said he wept, and it was for joy, for the Lord had come.

Dr. Williams often mentions the "Separates" or Baptists, whom he sometimes identifies with the Quakers, and prays that he "may carry it becomingly towards them," and that they may not pervert the flock. "Last night," he says, "Mr. Maxwell, a Baptist teacher, preached a sermon at neighbor E. Cooley's, at which several neighbors attended. I don't understand he meddled with controversial matters, but preached a plain gospel sermon. The Lord grant it may be a means of promoting charity among us." At another date, "I perceive J. R., the Quaker or Baptist, is come up hither to visit his friends. I pray to God he may not sow any seed of error among us, or do us any hurt."

The close of the period we consider terminated the era of compulsory taxation for the support of religious worship.

I now revert to a brief statement of the main facts of Dr. Williams' history as given by himself. We have had glimpses of him all along. Let us hear the summing up in his own words.*

After some things about his ancestry, "I was taken captive by the Indians, February 29, 1704, continued with them till

*Dr. Williams's great grandfathers came from England and settled in Roxbury and Dorchester. One of them on his mother's side was Rev. Richard Mather, an Oxford University graduate, ordained by the Bishop of Chester, and for fifteen years a minister of the Church of England. Another was Rev. John Warham, an eminent minister in Exeter, England, before he came to this country, and who removed with his church from Dorchester to Windsor, Ct.

April 30, 1705, sent to live with my father at Chatauriche (Canada), came from Quebec with Colonel Dudley the 1st of October, arrived at Boston the 21st of November, 1705, but left my father, my brethren Samuel and Warham and my sister Eunice behind. My father and brothers came to Boston the next year in November, but poor Eunice is yet in that country, if living. My relations and others were kind to me, and I was kept at school at Roxbury till my father's return, yea for a year after, and then went home to Deerfield (my father being married again). I studied some time at Deerfield, but the town being but as a garrison full of soldiers, I could not prosecute my studies, so that I was sent to live with my uncle Williams of Hatfield, and from thence I came to Cambridge college in July, 1709. After I took my degree I kept school at Hadley, was examined for preaching in the latter end of 1714, came to Longmeadow November 26 of that year, and was not ordained till October 16, 1716."

Omitting his account of his first marriage and its fruits in a numerous posterity, and the signal favor of such health as permitted a continuous attendance on public worship when at home for fifty-two years, with the exception of one day and a half, he speaks of his appointment by Governor Belcher to treat with the Housatonic Indians, and his three campaigns as chaplain in 1745, 1755 and 1756. After the last, on returning home, fits of vertigo and exceedingly ominous symptoms threatened to end his usefulness, if not his life. "Upon this," he says, "I altered my way of living; have lived more abstemiously, eat no salt provisions and but little butcher's meat, except mutton, and have refrained from all spirituous liquors. This, I believe, has greatly served my health, so that I have been able to attend my public work with comfort in my latter days." He speaks of the frequent councils he has been called to in cases of difficulty, and the worry and fatigue attending them, and of the difficulties from time to time in Longmeadow, but balanced by a large experience of peace and quiet. "I have seen abundance of the goodness and mercy and kindness of God in the course of my life, for which I desire to render praise to Almighty God, the giver of

every good gift. Upon him I wait for the pardon of my sins. O Lord, be pleased to forgive me for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ; the great propitiatory sacrifice."

"These things I commit to writing, especially what relates to my ancestors, for the information of my children, and desire that they may all be concerned to exalt the God of their forefathers. As to what you have seen amiss in me, your father, carefully avoid it; what you have seen agreeable to Christ's will endeavor to imitate, and mind the charge that David gave to his son Solomon as contained in 1. Chronicles, 28.9.

From your affectionate father,

STEPHEN WILLIAMS."

The last official act that he performed was to administer the rite of infant baptism. They carried the old man, now in his 90th year, to the church in his arm chair, and he put his trembling hands upon the little children and blessed them in the Lord's name.

In a sermon on his 80th birthday, he gives a most tender and loving exhortation to little children. "And let me, on this day on which I was born, advise little children to remember your Creator." He finishes his brief and simple address to them with this touching entreaty: "Will you remember that your old minister, on the day he was fourscore years old, exhorted and directed you to do thus, and hopes and desires you would be good children, and fear God and be blessings as you grow up."

He closes some very pertinent suggestions to those who are older. "Let me give it as my advice to young people to lay hold of the covenant of the Lord. You have been given up to God in baptism, you are really under bonds to the Lord; and should be careful to do all things He has commanded you. Do you stand to your Baptismal covenant, or no?" The sermon is full of such affectionate and discriminating appeals to various classes, and both in its expressions and its spirit reminds one of the apostle John.

When his family were called in as he was about to die, he

said, "It is a great thing to die—I must say I am afraid of dying—I am afraid of the pangs and throes of death, for death is the wages of sin. But I am not afraid to be dead; for I trust that through the merits and grace of my dear Redeemer and Advocate, Jesus Christ, the sting of death is taken away;" and after a moving exhortation to seek the great salvation, "I cannot add—'I pray God to give you all understanding.'"

A great assembly gathered to his funeral, and the sermon was preached by Mr. Breck of the First church in Springfield. It is an exceedingly interesting, ingenious and appropriate discourse, and the very few remaining copies should be very highly prized by the people of Longmeadow. An expression or two may indicate the very high respect felt for Dr. Williams by the neighboring ministers. "My Brethren, it has pleased God to remove from us our father, who has been many years at our head. I trust that we, his sons in the ministry, who in a body made him a visit since he was declining fast, will never forget with how much affection he committed us and our flocks to God; the advices he gave us; the fatherly blessing he bestowed upon us, and the tenderness with which he took his last leave of us. I could not help thinking that I had before my eyes the old prophet wrapt up in his mantle, just stepping into his chariot, and ready upon the wings of the wind to take his flight into heaven. My brethren, it is worth while to live as our father Williams did, if it was only to die as he did."

Are you impatient? Do you wonder why I linger so about this man? It is because I too, his successor in the ministry, though at such a distance of time, have learned to love and honor him. I trust that the few moments spent in recalling his sacred memory have not been wasted, and that the old tablet in the burial yard that marks his resting place will arrest the steps of some who never before knew who Stephen Williams was.

He was, on the whole, I think, in the sum total of his life and influence and character, our foremost man. Of such a family, among the very best in worthy antecedents of lineage and culture, he inherited much by right of the divine covenant; he was firm and gentle, prudent, wise, patient, earnest. He was a gen-

tleman, both in instinct and in bearing; of the most genuine humility and devoted piety; his daily watch to have a conscience void of offense towards God and man; variously disciplined, widely known, and as thoroughly respected; of large acquaintance and abounding hospitalities; his counsel sought far beyond his parish boundaries; and his influence increasing and his usefulness extending to the very verge of life so lengthened out—and that influence and usefulness not so much the result of any brilliant gifts or famous works, as of a genuine life and thorough character.

APRIL 2, 1877.—ANNUAL MEETING.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows :

President, HENRY MORRIS.

Vice-Presidents, A. L. SOULE, S. O. LAMB and SAMUEL T. SPAULDING.

Clerk and Treasurer, WILLIAM RICE.

Directors, SAMUEL G. BUCKINGHAM, WILLIAM L. SMITH, SAMUEL BOWLES,
J. W. HARDING, HENRY S. LEE, E. W. BOND.

The PRESIDENT presented the following :

ELIZUR HOLYOKE.

Prominent among the early settlers of Springfield who were cotemporary with William Pynchon and his son John, and shared with them the labors and dangers of pioneer life in our valley, was Elizur Holyoke. This gentleman was a native of Tamworth, a town in Warwickshire, England, about fifteen miles from Birmingham, in a north-easterly direction. The town and castle of Tamworth boast a celebrity as ancient as the reign of William the Conqueror, having been granted by that monarch to a favorite follower as a reward for his military services. The readers of Walter Scott's poetry may remember the greeting said to have been given by the heralds to Lord Marmion, when, on his admission to the Scottish court, he arrived at the border castle of Norham, on the bank of the Tweed.

“ They hailed him Lord of Fontenaye,
Of Lutterward and Scrivelbaye,
Of Tamworth tower and town.”

From this famous old town, Holyoke, then a young man of perhaps twenty years, came to this country with his father, Edward Holyoke, about the year 1637 or 1638, one or two years after the first settlement of Springfield. The father, who was a farmer by occupation, and a person of good estate, located upon a farm at Rumney Marsh, now Chelsea, where he passed the remainder of his life. He was several years a deputy in the

lower branch of the General Court, in which body he represented Springfield one year.

The son, Elizur, did not remain long on his father's farm at Rumney Marsh. What first attracted him to the Connecticut valley, we are left to conjecture. History does not inform us. Possibly he was drawn hither by a desire for an adventurous life on the frontier; possibly by reports of the fertility of these fair meadows that line the banks of our river. Either of these causes would well account for his migration to Springfield. But a better opinion is, that the charms of Mary Pyncheon had more influence with young Holyoke in the selection of this place as his future home, than either of the reasons named. Mary, the daughter of William Pyncheon, and sister of John, was then in the flower of youthful womanhood, a maiden of rare loveliness. The heart of the young man was deeply touched. The young lady was like-minded. The parents on both sides, who had been friends in England, saw no objections to the match. It was one eminently fit and proper, and so the first mention we have of Elizur Holyoke as a resident of Springfield, is in its town-records in this wise: "Mr. Elizur Holioke joyned in marriage to Mrs. Mary Pyncheon 9 mon. 20 day 1640." "Mrs." was a title of respect formerly given to women of a certain rank in life, whether married or single, old or young.

Of course the young couple must have a home in the settlement suitable to their station, and so Mr. Holyoke, according to the usage then prevailing in the town, was assigned a home-lot, next south of his father Pyncheon, twenty rods in width and extending westerly to the great river. This house-lot, on its southerly side, adjoined that of Henry Smith, who had married Ann, an older daughter of Pyncheon, before coming to Springfield. Holyoke's home-lot covered the whole space from what is now the northerly line of Worthington street to the southerly line of Bridge street. With this he received a proportionate allotment of the meadow and upland in front of it, on the easterly side of the street and extending nearly or quite to the top of the hill. To this was added, as usual, a grant of land on the west side of the river, opposite his home-lot, and a fair share

of out-lands for planting grounds. The rule of allotting planting grounds, then practiced by the town, was to grant "single persons 8 rods in breadth, married persons 10 rods in breadth, bigger familys 12 rods." Under this rule Mr. Holyoke was allotted ten rods. Eventually he acquired, either by grant from the town or by purchase, a large landed property in various parts of the town, including some on both sides of the river.

Farming was his ordinary occupation. From John Pynchon's account books, still in existence, it appears that, in the prosecution of his business as a merchant, he occasionally employed the men and teams of his brother Holyoke, as he did those of most of his townsmen, in the transportation of his merchandise to or from Hartford. Sometimes this transportation was by land to the foot of Enfield Falls, and thence by boat to Hartford, and sometimes it was by water the whole distance. For these services he was credited on Pynchon's books. Holyoke's men and teams appear also to have carted hay and lumber for Pynchon, and Pynchon also credits him with wheat, barley, beef, and various products of his farm.

On the other side of the account, Holyoke is charged with a variety of articles, such as would naturally be kept in a large country store, including some articles, the names of which are now obsolete. There was a great deal of "locram and tammy and blew linnen," sold in those days. Occasionally Mr. Holyoke's man, Abel Wright, must have a new hat or a pair of "stockens." Then come charges of a hat for "Lankton's girl" Sarah, six shillings; then a hat for Holyoke's son John, a lad of fourteen, sixteen shillings; then a pair of "shoos" for his daughter Hannah, a girl of thirteen, four shillings, etc., etc. Besides this class of items, there are charges of various kinds for work done by Mr. Pynchon's blacksmith, John Stewart, such as "sharpëning a plough-share and coulter," "laying a coulter," "mending a gun lock and a chest lock;" also for a "clevis" and a "halter bit" and "200 hob nails" for Abel Wright.

There is on John Pynchon's books a memorandum of later date, in 1666, which discloses somewhat the confidence he and Holyoke had in each other. It is this: "May y^e 3, 1666. My

brother Holyoke and I, talking about an ox he had of Bro. Smith, now above 2 years, I leaving it wholly to himself what to allow for it, he sd he judged-35 shillings reasonable and would willing allow that—so I take 1£ 15s. 00d.”

After William Pyncheon left this country in 1652, Holyoke, in right of his wife, had an interest in the mill which her father had built, and was entitled to one-third of the toll, and bound to pay one-third of the expense of repairs. At one time he appears to have had the sole control of the mill, and entered into a contract with the town, which is recorded on the town book, to grind what corn should be brought to his mill, and furnish good meal for ten years, for which he was allowed one-twelfth for toll.

It was not long after his marriage before Mr. Holyoke began to be called to the performance of such public duties as the exigencies of the town demanded. He was often required to act as a juryman in deciding the controversies which sprung up among his fellow-townsmen, often acting as foreman of the jury, unless his brother-in-law Henry Smith, was on the panel, who in that case, occupied the chief place. In 1642, he was one of a committee of six, appointed by the town, to lay out the lands “on y^e other side of y^e greate river where y^e Indians live.” In 1645, he was one of seven men appointed to make a new allotment of planting grounds.

In 1646 he was chosen one of five men to have the ordering of the prudential affairs of the town—select townsmen as they were at first called, now selectmen. To this office Mr. Holyoke was often called. In 1651 he was advanced to the office of constable—a position of more dignity and importance in that day than at present. It was the highest ministerial office in the town, and had been previously filled by Deacon Samuel Chapin, one of the chief men here, both in church and state. Upon this officer devolved, among other duties, that of inflicting corporal chastisement upon a certain class of offenders. Its importance will be more manifest from the fact that it was regarded, in one instance, a sufficient punishment for perjury to turn the person guilty of it out of the office of constable which he had held.

The period from October 1650 to October 1652, was virtually a period of interregnum in Springfield, so far as its local magistracy was concerned. William Pynchon had been deposed from office by the General Court for opinions alleged to be heretical. Although his son-in-law, Henry Smith, had been appointed his successor, with ample powers to govern Springfield, it does not appear that he ever acted under the appointment, and in 1652, he accompanied his father-in-law Pynchon to England. To provide for this exigency, the General Court in October, 1652, appointed three commissioners as magistrates to govern the inhabitants of this town: John Pynchon, Elizur Holyoke and Samuel Chapin. These three gentlemen constituted the court for the trial of all causes, civil or criminal, except those criminal cases of a very grave character which were to be tried before the General Court at Boston. When a settlement was formed at Northampton, that town also came under their jurisdiction, and in 1659, the General Court authorized them to hold one court a year at that place, if they saw fit.

Soon after this, the town of Hadley having been established, commissioners were specially appointed for each of the towns of Northampton and Hadley, and in 1661 the commissioners for the three towns were constituted a tribunal to hold courts alternately at Springfield and Northampton. In 1662 the county of Hampshire was established, then comprising only these three towns. Springfield was made the shire town, but courts were to be held alternately at Springfield and Northampton. In 1665 a more formal organization of the court took place. John Pynchon was made the presiding judge, with four associates. Any three of these, Pynchon being one, could hold a court. Mr. Holyoke was the associate judge from Springfield, and was also made the recorder of the court. This organization of the court continued through the remainder of Holyoke's life.

The court duties performed by Mr. Holyoke did not prevent the town from availing itself of his services in other ways. For seven years he was the representative of Springfield in the lower branch of the General Court, being the first resident of the town who was elected to that office, except Henry Smith, who was

chosen and served only one year. The previous representatives of the town had been persons residing in Boston or its vicinity.

In May, 1653, upon the petition of some of the inhabitants of Springfield, Pynchon, Holyoke and Chapin were appointed by the General Court a committee to lay out two new plantations at Nonotuck or Norwottuck. They reported in November, 1654, that they had laid out one plantation on the west side of the river, and reserved the land in the east side for another plantation when required. This report was accepted, and the new plantation became Northampton.

In 1660 some question had arisen as to the precise extent of the limits of Springfield. The town appointed a committee, of which Holyoke was a member, to prepare a survey of its territory to be presented to the General Court with a petition to have its limits defined. This committee was directed to survey north as far as Northampton on the west side of the river, and as far as the new town (Hadley) on the east side. It is not improbable that it was in the course of this survey, or the earlier one in 1653, when Northampton was laid out, that Holyoke's name was given to the mountain which bears it. There is a tradition that two parties of men were sent north from Springfield on a survey, the one on the east side under the charge of Holyoke, and that on the west side under the charge of Rowland Thomas, another Springfield man. Each of these parties ascended the mountain on its line of survey. That on the east side received the name of Holyoke, and that on the west side was called after Thomas, Mt. Tom.

In 1670, the General Court appointed a committee of six inhabitants of Springfield to lay out a new township on the west side of the Connecticut river, "towards Windsor." Of this committee John Pynchon was the first named, and Elizur Holyoke the second. The other members were Thomas Cooper, George Colton, Benjamin Cooley and Rowland Thomas. Their report was delayed until 1674, in consequence of the unsettled line between Massachusetts and Connecticut. The township laid out by this committee was, at that time, regarded as a part of Massachusetts, and was called Suffield, an abbreviation of Southfield.

The locality had been previously known as Stony river. In the same year (1674) Mr. Holyoke was made chairman of a committee to view the plantation of Swampfield, on the petition of the inhabitants of that place, now known as Sunderland.

By a general law in force in Holyoke's time, men who had attained the age of sixteen years, were required to render military service. The exemptions from this duty were comparatively few. Springfield, as a frontier town, surrounded by Indians, was dependent for its defense, in case of an attack, upon its own military force. Accordingly, it had its trained band, which was called out for exercise in arms eight days in each year, at the training field on the bank of the river by the foot of the present Elm street. Every freeman, householder and enlisted soldier who had taken the oath of fidelity, had a voice in the selection of the officers, subject to allowance and approval by the County Court. The captain, lieutenant and ensign received their commission from the General Court.

Mr. Holyoke was confirmed as ensign of the company here in 1653, John Pynchon then being lieutenant, and Henry Smith elected captain, but not commissioned on account of his absence from the country. In 1657, Pynchon was promoted to be captain, and Holyoke to be lieutenant. In 1669 Holyoke was made captain, and continued so during the remainder of his life. He held this office when Philips's war imperiled the safety of every inhabitant of this valley. It is probable, although this is not certainly known, that he was absent with his command on an expedition against a force of Indians near Hadley, at the time when Springfield was assaulted and burned. Holyoke's house was one of those that escaped destruction. Probably it owed its safety to its proximity to the Pynchon house, which was fortified and garrisoned.

Mr. Holyoke was a religious man, and bore a leading part in the ecclesiastical affairs of the town. During the seven years, from 1652 to 1659, when there was no settled minister here, he was often designated by the town to "carry on the work of the Sabbath." He was made choice of to officiate once every Sabbath day while John Pynchon, Deacon Chapin and Henry

Burt were to "carry on" the other part of the day once a fortnight.

It appears that his father, Edward Holyoke, who died about this period at Lynn, appreciated his son's peculiar capacity for Biblical study and religious teaching, for in his will, made in December, 1658, is found this bequest to Elizur:

"As for my books and wrightings, I give my son all the books that are at Linn, as alsoe the Iron Chest, and the books I have in my study that are Mr. Beaughan's works I give him, hee only cann make use of them and likewise I give all my manuscripts whatsoever, and I give him that large new testament in folio with wast papers between every leafe, also Mr. Ainsworth on the 5 books of Moses and the psalmes and my dixinary and Temellius bible in Latten, and my latten conaent and daniell bound together, and A part of the New testament in Folio, with wast paper betwin every leafe, and the greate mapp of geneology, and that old manuscript called a Synas sight."

It was during the period when the town was deprived of the ministrations of a regular pastor, that Mr. Holyoke's wife, the Mary Pyncheon of his early love, died. In the old burial-ground at the foot of Elm street, from which the remains of the dead were removed, in 1848, to the present cemetery, the stone that marked her grave bore the oldest date of any in the enclosure, with this inscription:

"Here lyeth the body of Mari the wife of Elizur Holyoke who died Oct 26, 1657.

Shee yt lyes here was while she stood
A very glory of womanhood
Even here was sowne most pretious dust
Which surely shall rise with ye just."

In those primitive days, in the Connecticut valley, a single life was not commonly regarded as a life of peculiar blessedness, nor was it fashionable for widows or widowers to continue long in a widowed state. The exigencies of frontier life forbade it. And so Mr. Holyoke, after the death of his first wife, soon sought and found a second in the person of a lady, who, having commenced life as Editha Stebbins, had been successively the wife and then the widow of Robert Day, the wife and then the widow of John Maynard, and was willing to try matrimony

again as the wife of Elizur Holyoke. So far as appears, the union proved a happy one. It continued about seventeen years, when it was terminated by Holyoke's death in February, 1676. Captain Holyoke had then attained the full maturity of his years and usefulness. His sickness must have been brief; for he was not able to perfect a will which he had partially arranged. It was then a time of great distress and anxiety at Springfield. Just four months before, the town had been assaulted and burned by the Indians. The river plantations were in a state of continual alarm. Here and there settlers were stricken down by sudden and murderous assault. Not far from the time of Holyoke's death, a family living in Longmeadow, on their way to church here on the Sabbath, were attacked by Indians, and three of the number, John Keep and Sarah, his wife, with Jabez, their young child, were slain.

At such a period of anxiety and gloom, the loss of such a leader as Elizur Holyoke was one that must have been deeply felt and mourned by his townsmen. The entry of his death upon the public records of the town is brief and simple, but expressive. It is in these words: "The Honored Capt. Elizur Holyoke of Springfield dyed the fifth of February, 1675." As the year was then reckoned as beginning on the twenty-second of March, this date would be called, in our present calendar, 1676.

Captain Holyoke left four sons and two daughters, all of whom were children of his first wife. John, the oldest, was for several years register of deeds for Hampshire county, and clerk of the writs for this town, and died a bachelor. Samuel, the second, was the Captain Holyoke who, in May, 1676, distinguished himself by his brave and persistent fighting while conducting the retreat of the English, after the famous but disastrous battle with the Indians at Turner's Falls. From his extraordinary exertions on that occasion, he contracted a disease which terminated his life in October of the same year. He was never married. The third son, Edward, was infirm, and died single. The youngest son, Elizur, removed to Boston, and it is through him that all the descendants of his father, who bear the name of Holyoke, must trace their lineage. One of

his sons was President Holyoke of Harvard college, and his grandson was Edward Augustus Holyoke of Salem, the eminent physician, who lived to the age of more than one hundred years, and died within the memory of many of our citizens now living.

It is not known that there is a person now living in this valley bearing the name of Holyoke. It is believed to be extinct here. No monument has ever been erected in any cemetery or burial-ground of this city to commemorate the services or the death of Elizur Holyoke; but the noble mountain that marks our northern horizon bears his honored name, and, with the flourishing city that has sprung up of late years near its base, ought ever to keep alive in the memories of our people the fact that such a man once lived here, and bore a prominent and influential part in laying the foundations of our prosperity.

OCTOBER 1, 1877.—QUARTERLY MEETING.

MR. WILLIAM L. SMITH read the following paper:

SPRINGFIELD IN THE INSURRECTION OF 1786 (SHAYS'S
REBELLION).

The history of the insurrection in Massachusetts—commonly called the “Shays rebellion”—is interesting as the record of the only serious attempt ever made against the authority of the state government. The insurrection having first taken an organized form in the Connecticut valley and having here met its final overthrow, the preservation of local facts concerning it is expressly within the province of this society. This paper will relate mainly to such incidents of the rebellion as occurred in Springfield and the immediate vicinity.

The insurrection was the result of a condition of things now popularly described as “hard times.” It did not originate so much in disaffection toward the state government as in an uncontrollable impulse of a distressed people to seek relief in some way, or any way. The long and burdensome war of the Revolution had just been brought to a close. The country was impoverished. The continental paper money had become worthless, and no substitute for it had been provided. There was no trade, no demand for labor, no way in which the value of property of any kind could be measured. Under the barbarous laws then in force, the jails were becoming filled with prisoners whose only offense was their inability to pay their debts. Men who had nothing to do but to talk about their grievances and distresses were easily excited to turbulence, and local disturbances were frequent and serious. The authorities were too often in sympathy with the offenders against the law, and guilty parties went unpunished. The state constitution, adopted in 1780, was viewed with disfavor by a large minority of the people, and was not regarded as securely established. The constitution of the United States had not then been framed, and all existing government was merely experimental.

There was at that time no law for the equitable distribution of a debtor's property among his creditors. The executions of the creditors were levied in the order in which their attachments were made, and each creditor was satisfied in his turn until all were paid, or the debtor's estate was exhausted. A man whose credit was suspected found his property covered by attachments at once, and in the condition of things then existing a very slight circumstance excited suspicion. Litigation became general. The state was showered with executions, and large amounts of property were sold, for almost nothing, to satisfy them. In the unreasoning excitement of the time, the courts, lawyers and sheriffs were denounced in the wildest terms as the promoters of the suffering that men were inflicting upon each other. A cry arose that the courts ought to be abolished. Threats were made that the courts should not be allowed to sit, that no more suits should be entered and no more executions issued. It was such wild clamor as this that led to the first overt act in resistance to the lawful authority.

There was no general insurrection until the summer of 1786, but as early as 1783 a bold attempt was made at Springfield to break up the session of the court of common pleas. The "*Massachusetts Gazette or the General Advertiser*," then printed in Springfield, of May 27, gives this account of it:

"On Tuesday last, being the day on which the general sessions of the peace and the court of common pleas opened in this town, a banditti, collected from the obscure corners of the county, composed of men of the most infamous character, to the amount of about sixty in number, met in this town to prevent the sitting of the court. * * * They showed no disposition to attack the courts in the forenoon; at two o'clock they met at a public house in the town, and resolved themselves to be a convention of the county, met together for the purpose of redressing grievances; after having passed several important resolves they adjourned their convention to the elm tree near the court-house; when the bell rang for the court, they, in hostile parade, armed with white bludgeons, cut for that purpose, marched before the door of the court-house, and when the court, headed by the sheriff, came to the door, with insolence opposed their entrance; the sheriff, in the mild terms of persuasion, addressing them as gentlemen, desired them to make way. His civility was repaid with outrage, and an action soon commenced; happily there was a collection of people friendly to the government present, and the mob was repulsed with

broken heads. A number of them were instantly taken and committed to prison; after which, by a regular procedure, they were brought before the court of sessions for examination, and were bound to appear before the supreme court."

The court-house then stood on the east side of Main street, directly opposite Meeting-house lane, which has since become Elm street. Its site is now occupied by Sanford street. The elm tree under which the rioters held their "convention" stood on the east side of Main street, and two or three rods south of the court-house.

The legislature of 1786 was elected at a time of great excitement. Demagogism was in its glory, and the distresses of the people were used for the accomplishment of personal and political ends. Many of the men who had hitherto been intrusted with the responsibilities of legislation, and were prominent in the service of the state, were superseded by inexperienced and, in many cases, by utterly unfit persons. Patriots of the revolution, whose eloquent appeals had aroused the spirit that carried the country triumphantly through the war of independence, were defeated as candidates, merely because they happened to be lawyers. When the legislature assembled, various visionary schemes were brought forward, among them a proposition that the state should go into the business of manufacturing paper money. The paper money party of the day was active and noisy. The very men who had lived through a period of great inflation and consequent depreciation wanted to travel over the same wretched road again. The legislature proceeded deliberately, influenced, no doubt, by the conservative sentiment of Boston, and finally rejected the proposition; and the senate stood firmly in the way of other dangerous schemes. Thereupon there arose a new clamor. It was declared that the senate should be abolished and that the legislature should not continue to hold its sessions at Boston; and the agitators proceeded to supplement their boisterous declamations by a formal organization.

The legislature adjourned on the 8th of July. On the 28th of August, delegates from fifty towns in Hampshire county (Hampden and Franklin counties were included in Hampshire at

that time), met in convention at Hatfield and held a session of three days. All the issues of the day were represented in that convention. The paper money party was in strong force. The men who "had fought for liberty and meant to have it" were there; and liberty, as they understood it, was defined by one of their leaders in a speech at West Springfield. Liberty, he said, "is for every man to do as he pleases, and to make other folks do as you please to have them." Of course there was a mixture of local politics. There were some in the convention who honestly thought they could see their way out of their troubles through mere legislation; but with all of them the idea of redressing grievances by revolution was familiar and popular.

The convention solemnly voted "that this meeting is constitutional," and issued a declaration of its purposes. The declaration was a marked specimen of energetic fault-faulting, but failed to present practical recommendations for the removal of the evils complained of. They wanted, among various other things, a revisal of the state constitution, the abolition of the senate and of the court of common pleas, and more paper money. The convention called upon other counties to organize, and took care to go through the form of advising the people to abstain from all mobs and unlawful assemblies.

The events of the next few days furnished a practical construction of the convention's declaration against mobs and unlawful assemblies. The last Tuesday of August was the day fixed by law for the term of the court of common pleas at Northampton. Some 1,500 men took possession of the court-house, and prevented the sitting of the court. The term was not held, and the men who did not intend to pay their debts celebrated a victory over the law. After accomplishing its object the mob dispersed; but the insurrection was then under full headway.

The following is the full record of the court for that term:

"Early on the morning of this day there was collected a considerable number of persons under arms, who paraded near the court-house, with a proposed design to prevent this court from sitting; a committee from whom presented a petition, requesting the court would not proceed to do any business. The

court having considered thereof thought proper to open the same at the house of Capt. Samuel Clark, innholder, in Northampton; and having continued all matters now pending in said court to the term of this court next to be holden in Springfield, in and for the county of Hampshire, on the second Tuesday of November next, adjourned without day."

The November term, to which the matters pending were continued, was never held, nor was any term of the court held in the county until May of the following year. The docket was kept alive by legislative action.

Governor Bowdoin issued a proclamation calling upon the civil officers and the good citizens of the state to sustain the laws, but the officers were powerless, and the good citizens were overawed by the aggressive violence of the insurgents. In some localities the militia were ordered out, but the order was soon countermanded, for it was found that the militia, as then organized, was composed in a very large degree of the insurgents themselves, and could not be trusted. Meantime the rioters were profiting by the enforced inaction of the state authorities. The judges whose duty it was to hold the September term of the court of common pleas at Worcester, found the door of the court-house bristling with bayonets, and they were not admitted. Like outrages were committed in Middlesex, Bristol and Berkshire counties. In the other counties there was less open insurrection, but, with the exception of the town of Boston and its immediate vicinity, the rebels had substantially the control of the state. The extent of the disaffection at this time was not known to the state authorities, and probably not to the insurgents themselves, until after the troubles were over, and after the legislature had made a law disqualifying persons engaged in the rebellion from holding civil office. It was then found that in some towns there were not enough men untainted with rebellion to fill the necessary town offices, and further legislation was necessary to bridge over the difficulty. It is probable that about one-third of the population of the state were more or less actively in sympathy with the insurrection.

The governor issued a proclamation calling the legislature to meet in special session on the 27th of September. The procla-

mation was an incentive to still greater activity on the part of the insurgents. On the other hand, the supporters of the government felt the increased necessity of making a stand against insurrection. The law required the supreme judicial court to sit at Springfield on the fourth Tuesday of September. The insurgents, who had not hitherto interfered with this court, declared that the term should not be held. At that time, the grand juries reported to the supreme court, and the insurgent leaders knew that if the grand jury assembled and did its duty, they would be indicted for treason. The friends of law and order declared that the court should be protected in any event, and at whatever cost. The issue was thus squarely made up, and each party meant what it said.

Gen. William Shepard of Westfield, who had served with distinction through the war of the Revolution, and had been a member of the continental congress and a trusted officer of General Washington, was appointed to command such forces as could be raised for the protection of the court. Shays, the leader of the insurgents, had held a commission in the continental army, and was conspicuous for his personal bravery at Bunker Hill and Stony Point, and was present at the surrender of Burgoyne. Revolutionary experiences were still fresh, and almost every man in the community was accustomed, in some degree, to the use of arms and military drill. It was well understood that neither party would give way to the other, and there was hardly ground for hope that a bloody collision would be averted.

General Shepard succeeded in collecting about six hundred militia and volunteers, and anticipated the plans of the insurgents by taking possession of the court-house. On the appointed day the court was opened, Chief Justice Cushing and Justices Sargeant, Sewall and Sumner being present, and Shays appeared at the head of a force largely superior in numbers to General Shepard's; but his men were not as well armed as were the militia. The insurgent leaders were disconcerted at finding the militia in possession of the court-house; their followers were enraged, and insisted upon making an immediate attack. But

the leaders were more prudent. They knew that the government troops were well armed, and they were especially disgusted with the bark of a small cannon which they styled the "government's puppy." They offered to withdraw if the judges would agree that no other than the ordinary criminal business of the term should be taken up. The judges replied in substance that they had a public duty to discharge, and would attend to such business as should properly come before them. But by the time this answer was received the insurgent leaders were indifferent as to the action of the court; for they were satisfied the grand jury could not be got together and that there would be no trials. They saw that their main purpose would be accomplished without fighting.

Shays had his head-quarters on or near Ferry lane (now Cypress street); and a tavern that stood on the southerly corner of the present Main and Sargeant streets, was a favorite rendezvous of the insurgents.

The inhabitants of Springfield were beginning to feel some relief from their anxiety, when a new commotion was seen in the camp of the insurgents. It was rumored among them that the militia had determined that they should not be permitted to march past the court-house. It is not likely that any person in authority on the government side threw down the gauntlet in that way. It is more probable that the rumor originated with some of the Shays men who wanted a pretext for a fight and consequent pillage. But the rumor, however it originated, aroused the fighting qualities of the insurgents. Old soldiers were not to be told that they must not march over the highway. They notified General Shepard that they would march past the court-house forthwith; and they did so, in military order and with loaded muskets, and they countermarched and again passed under the windows of the court-house. But no one came forward to knock the chip from their leader's shoulder. The experiment of the insurgents proved a failure. The militia could not be tempted to accept a mere challenge or invite a battle. A taunt or a careless word would have occasioned a collision, but the word was not spoken. But some of the militia

were so impressed by the numbers and bearing of the insurgents that they deserted their colors and enlisted under Shays.

The badge of the insurgents was a sprig of evergreen worn in the hat. The government men wore a sprig of a different variety. Some of the very prudent citizens, who could not make up their minds as to which party would carry the day, were accused of carrying both styles of badge in their pockets, and displaying one or the other as circumstances suggested.

The court was kept open three days, but the proceedings amounted to a mere ceremony. The grand jury did not assemble. Parties to causes, jurors and witnesses were under arms, either on one side or the other. One defendant, who was out on bail, was defaulted, and that was the only business transacted at the term. The adjournment of the court, under such circumstances, was a victory for the insurgents, and their triumph was made complete when they learned that the judges had determined not to hold the October term at Great Barrington. The judges had been informed of the preparations made for their reception at that place, and knew it would be useless to attempt to hold the term.

The rebels had accomplished all they intended, and more; but success had crazed them. The rank and file were clamorous for a fight, and Shays sent a message to General Shepard demanding a surrender of the court-house. General Shepard did not deem the possession of the court-house worth fighting for, the court having adjourned, and moved his forces to the federal arsenal, where there was valuable property that required protection. The insurgents, finding no satisfaction in standing guard over an empty building, and not yet being ready to make war against the federal authority, soon dispersed.

Minot's History of the Insurrections, etc., published within two years after these occurrences, says: "The condition of the town of Springfield was truly melancholy during this civil contention. Neighbors were opposed to each other under arms, the houses were rendered the scenes of female distress, and it was in the power of accident only to have brought on an action which might have destroyed the lives of thousands, and subjected all

property to the immediate vengeance of the party that might have become victorious. After remaining in this situation for four days the inhabitants were relieved by the dispersing of both parties."

The conservative sentiment of Springfield as a town is shown by the record of a town meeting held on the 25th of September. At a previous meeting a committee, consisting of William Pynchon, Capt. Thomas Stebbins, Reuben Bliss and Thomas Williston, had been appointed "to take into consideration the present aspect of our public affairs and what measures are prudent to be adopted by the town to extricate us out of our present difficulties." The report of this committee, which was made by Mr. Pynchon, was in the form of a letter of instructions to Samuel Lyman, the representative of the town in the General Court, which was about to meet in special session. I quote from the report:

"If a motion should be made for a paper medium to be substituted in the place of solid coin, as a tender in discharge of private debts, you will oppose it with all your influence. Such a medium is iniquitous in itself, pregnant of innumerable evils, both political and moral, contrary to the spirit of our constitution, and inconsistent with the rights of mankind; whatever order government may see fit to make with respect to future contracts, no government can possibly have a right to alter private contracts, already made under her patronage, and the protection and security of laws then existing. A usurpation in such an instance might soon become a precedent for usurpation still more dangerous, till the liberties of the people were annihilated, not to add that the increase of our paper debt at a time when it is already a burthen, appears a preposterous and ridiculous remedy.

"You are not to favor any motion for a present revisal of our constitution. We are far from thinking it too perfect to be amended, but as within a few years it is to be revised, of course if then found necessary, we cannot suppose it would be prudent to incur the extraordinary expense and peculiar danger of attempting an alteration in so burthensome and so critical a time as this. There are matters of greater and more immediate consequence which require your attention and on which present relief more especially depends. The general perturbation of people's spirits at this instant will scarcely admit that calm, dispassionate deliberation which is necessary in laying the groundwork in government in so large and so economical a state, and a state which has so many foreign as well as domestic connections, and probably would prevent a tolerable agreement in any amendments that would be proposed.

"We imagine that part of our discontents may arise from misapprehension, and therefore, it is our wish that when the Legislature have done all in their power to relieve our *real* burthens, they would in a public address state our case to us in its various circumstances with as much perspicacity as possible, that our mistakes, if we have unhappily fallen into any, may be rectified, and our *imaginary* as well as *real* grievances may be removed."

The report was equally explicit upon other subjects of public interest and was approved by the town. Mr. Lyman was probably the most thoroughly instructed representative ever sent from Springfield. There was very little occasion for him to do any thinking for himself.

When the legislature assembled it was found that the senate was in favor of vigorous measures in support of the government. In the house there was a party in sympathy with the insurgents, and another party opposed to disorder, but not in favor of coercive measures. There were others who thought they saw in the successful defiance of the courts a failure of republican institutions, and who looked to a revolution as a necessary or convenient step toward the establishment of an aristocratic government. Extremes were thus meeting and co-operating. Toward the close of the session, however, acts were reluctantly passed authorizing the governor and council to imprison without bail such persons as they deemed dangerous to the public safety, and providing that persons indicted for treason might be tried in any county. But these wholesome measures were qualified by an offer of a free pardon to such of the insurgents as should take the oath of allegiance before the 1st of January. An address to the people was voted, as had been suggested by the Springfield town meeting, but the most important thing of all was neglected. They did not provide money to meet the expenses of dealing successfully with the insurrection.

The failure of the legislature to adopt energetic measures gave new courage to the insurgents. They derided what they called the weakness and timidity of the government, and laughed at the offer of pardon. The war upon the courts was persistently maintained. In December Shays made another raid upon Springfield, and forcibly prevented the session of the court of common pleas. A letter from Springfield to the Boston

Chronicle, under date of December 27, gives this account of his proceeding:

"There is a stagnation of almost every kind of business among us by reason of the tumults which are so prevalent here. Yesterday we had another visit from the mobility; about 350 men marched in hostile array, with drums beating, and took possession of the court-house, commanded by Shays, Day and Grover, in order to prevent the sitting of the court of common pleas, which by law was to have been held here at that time. This they effected, as there was no opposition on the part of the government. It was not possible for the court (as they were surrounded by an armed force and a guard placed at the door of the room in which the judges were met) to proceed to do business. They therefore informed a committee who were chosen by the insurgents to wait on them that they would not attempt to open the court. After which, about dark, the insurgents left the town."

It is evident that this was a surprise to the people of Springfield. For some reason or other, they had believed that the court would not be interfered with. The indignation among the friends of the government was intense, and within a few hours a permanent military force was organized for local purposes. But the outrage upon the court was productive of good results. It proved to be a material element in arousing the party of order to vigorous and decisive action, and was the last armed attack made upon the courts of Massachusetts.

News traveled slowly in 1786. Information of this last exploit of Shays was not received by the governor until the first of January. The news was received at Boston with surprise and alarm. Springfield had been regarded as the government stronghold in the western part of the state, and an uncontested insurgent success had not been expected at that point. At the same time an attack upon Boston was threatened by the insurgents, and there were indications that a part of the population of that town were ready for revolt. Disturbances, too, were occurring in other states. In New Hampshire, an armed mob surrounded the legislature, demanding the enactment of a paper money law. There were well-founded apprehensions that general anarchy would be the barren sequence of all the magnificent achievements of the continental armies.

The governor and the members of the executive council were

capable and resolute men, and were faithful to their great trusts; but they were powerless. They did not have at their command the means of sustaining even a single regiment in the field. The emergency was finally met by some of the capitalists and business men of Boston, who realized the danger to which their interests would be exposed by a revolution, and came forward with an offer of a loan to the state, trusting to future legislation for their reimbursement. Their offer was accepted, and there was at once a change in the condition of affairs. There was a new and wholesome activity in the executive departments. Orders were issued for the raising and equipment of 4,500 men, a considerable army in that day. Public sentiment at once exhibited a more healthy tone. The wavering and doubting began to get off the fence and range themselves on the side that had troops and money, and the lukewarm and more thoughtful among the insurgents began to think of their allegiance. Shays and his council had been in deliberation over two distinct plans of operation. The more reckless of the leaders advised an attack upon Boston for the purpose of releasing two of their number who had been arrested and were held in jail. Others advised that the attack on Boston be delayed until after the seizure of the continental arsenal at Springfield, with its store of war material, and this plan was the one adopted.

The Hampshire county quota of 1,200 men were ordered to assemble at Springfield, and General Shepard was placed in command. The eastern militia were to meet at Roxbury, whence they were to march to Worcester, and there be joined with the force raised in Worcester county. The chief command was given to Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, an accomplished officer of the Revolutionary war. Governor Bowdoin's orders to General Lincoln required him to protect the court of common pleas at the January term at Worcester, and left his further movements against the insurgents to his own discretion.

General Shepard again anticipated the movements of Shays. Acting under the authority of the Secretary of War, he took possession of the arsenal. General Lincoln reached Worcester on the 22d of January, after a three days' march from Roxbury

through the deep snow of midwinter. The court was opened, and proceeded with the business of the term. Order was restored at Worcester and, substantially, at all points in the state east of that place. The insurgents were concentrating their strength in the western counties, and it was understood on all hands that the issue was to be tried and determined at Springfield.

The positions of the several armed forces on the evening of January 24, were as follows: General Shepard was posted at the arsenal with about one thousand men. Shays had just reached Wilbraham on his march from Rutland. A part of Lincoln's command was less than two days' march in the rear of Shays. Luke Day, an insurgent leader, was at West Springfield with about four hundred men and boys, well armed and well drilled. There was a good ice bridge at the time, so that he was within easy reach of the arsenal. Eli Parsons, a Berkshire leader, was in the north parish of Springfield (now Chicopee), with about four hundred men. The total insurgent force was about double that of General Shepard.

The inhabitants of Springfield, except such as were within the immediate protection of General Shepard, were kept in constant alarm. Respectable citizens were seized in their own houses and taken to Day's camp in West Springfield, where they were kept under guard as hostages and for purposes of retaliation. Men were not sure whether their near neighbors were friends or foes, and unprotected homes were exposed to outrage and plunder. Upon the receipt of the news that Shays had reached Wilbraham, most of the women and children who had means of conveyance fled from the town.

On his arrival at Wilbraham, Shays sent a message to Day, informing him that he intended to attack the arsenal on the 25th. Day replied by letter that he could not move on that day, but would join in the attack on the 26th. Day's messenger was arrested, and his letter, instead of going to Shays, went to General Shepard. On the 25th, Shays moved upon Springfield, expecting, of course, the co-operation of Day and Parsons. Even if he had received Day's letter he could not have delayed

his attack. His only chance of success was in seizing the arsenal before General Lincoln could come up.

At that time, none of the buildings, now standing on the arsenal grounds, had been erected. There were two wooden buildings, built for barracks and for storage, on the brow of the hill looking to the north, on or near the site of the present store-house. There was a private dwelling-house on the site of the present middle arsenal (opposite the Olivet church). It was to this house that the killed and wounded insurgents were carried. East of that point there were no buildings except the powder magazine, that stood in a then remote spot in the woods. Magazine street has since been located over its site. The present Armory square was the public training field. There were not then any gun shops on the arsenal grounds. If there was one in the town at the time, it was in Ferry lane, where government gun work was originally done in Springfield.

When Shays left Wilbraham, on the morning of the 25th, Asaph King, a deputy sheriff, started on horseback to give information to General Shepard. He was obliged to avoid the highways, and made his way across the fields, through snow-drifts and over fences, and is said to have accomplished the distance in forty-five minutes. This was the first exact information received by General Shepard of the approach of Shays; and he proceeded to make ready for his fitting reception. His men were stationed near the barracks, and his cannon were planted on the brow of the hill commanding the approach by the Boston road. A part of his force was posted in Main street, at the point now crossed by the Boston and Albany railroad, for the purpose of holding Day in check, in case he should attempt to come to the aid of Shays. A considerable mob collected at that point, but did not attempt an attack upon the militia.

It was toward the close of the short winter day that the insurgents were seen from the arsenal making their toilsome march through the snow on the Boston road. They were in the best of spirits. Every attempt they had hitherto made had succeeded; but it was not an unprotected court-house they were now intending to occupy. Some of them were to be dead

within the next few minutes. Shays was entirely confident. Some of his old army comrades went out to meet him, and advised him to keep out of the range of General Shepard's guns, and abandon his treason. He received them pleasantly, told them he was sure of success, and was inclined to be jocose. He did not know his own men.

There is a good deal of loose tradition about the affair of the 25th of January, which is entirely omitted here, for the reason that it does not seem to be supported by trustworthy contemporary evidence. There was not any battle. The only firing was on the government side, and there was but little of that. Only one shot seems to have been fired in genuine earnest, and that was followed by a panic among the insurgents, and a flight. The official report of the firm, but kind-hearted General Shepard to the governor, gives us reliable history. It is as follows:—

“SPRINGFIELD, January 26, 1787.

“*Sir*:—The unhappy time has come in which we have been obliged to shed blood. Shays, who was at the head of about twelve hundred men, marched yesterday afternoon about 4 o'clock toward the public buildings, in battle array. He marched his men in an open column by platoons. I sent several times, by one of my aids, and two other gentlemen, Capts. Buffington and Woodbridge, to him to know what he was after, or what he wanted. His reply was, he ‘wanted barracks, barracks he would have, and stores.’ The answer was, he ‘must purchase them dear, if he had them.’ He still proceeded on his march, until he approached within two hundred and fifty yards of the arsenal. He then made a halt. I immediately sent Major Lyman, one of my aids, and Captain Buffington, to inform him not to march his troops any nearer the arsenal on his peril, as I was stationed here by order of your excellency and the secretary-at-war, for the defense of the publick property; in case he did, I should surely fire on him and his men. A Mr. Wheeler, who appeared to be one of Shays's aids, met Mr. Lyman, after he had delivered my orders, in the most peremptory manner, and made answer, that that was all he wanted. Shays immediately put his troops in motion and marched on rapidly near one hundred yards. I then ordered Maj. Stephens, who commanded the artillery, to fire upon them; he accordingly did. The two first shot he endeavored to overshoot them, in hope they would have taken warning, without firing among them, but it had no effect on them. Maj. Stephens then directed his shot through the center of his column. The fourth or fifth shot put the whole column into the utmost confusion. Shays made an attempt to display his column, but in vain. We had one howit, which was loaded with grape-shot,

which, when fired, gave them great uneasiness. Had I been disposed to destroy them, I might have charged upon their rear and flanks with my infantry and the two field-pieces, and could have killed the greater part of his whole army within twenty-five minutes. There was not a single musket fired on either side.

"I found three men dead on the spot, and one wounded, who is since dead. One of our artillerymen, by inattention, was badly wounded. Three muskets were taken up with the dead, which were all deeply loaded. I enclose to your excellency a copy of a paper sent to me last evening. I have received no reinforcements yet, and expect to be attacked this day by their whole force combined. I am sir, with great respect,

"Your Excellencies most obedient, humble servant,

"WILLIAM SHEPARD.

"His Excellency, James Bowdoin, Esq."

The following is a copy of the paper enclosed in the above letter:

"HEADQUARTERS, WEST SPRINGFIELD, }
January 25, 1787. }

"The body of the people assembled in arms, adhering to the first principles in nature, self-preservation, *do, in the most peremptory manner, demand,*

1. That the troops in Springfield lay down their arms.
2. That their arms be deposited in the publick stores, under the care of the proper officers, to be returned to the owners at the termination of the present contest.

3. That the troops return to their homes upon parole.

"To the commanding officer at Springfield, January 25, 1787, LUKE DAY, Captain Commandant of this division. On the back,—'By Col. Eli Parsons.'"

The "captain commandant," who made this high-sounding demand, ran away, two days later, without firing a shot.

The lives so foolishly thrown away before the arsenal were those of Ezekiel Root and Ariel Webster of Gill, Jabez Spicer of Leyden and John Hunter of Shelburne. In the evening Shays sent a messenger to General Shepard with a flag of truce, requesting that the bodies of five of his men killed before the arsenal should be returned to him. General Shepard's rather grim reply was, that he could not furnish him at that time with five insurgents, as he had but four, and one of them was not quite dead, but that if Shays would attack the arsenal again,

General Shepard would furnish him as many dead rebels as he should desire.

The attack anticipated by General Shepard was not made. Shays retreated on the night of the 25th to "Chapin's tavern," five miles east of the town. The next day he joined Parsons's force at Chicopee, two hundred of his men deserting by the way. A bold dash on the morning of the 27th might possibly have helped him; but he lost the only opportunity there was remaining to him. At noon on that day, a part of General Lincoln's army, consisting of three regiments of infantry, three companies of artillery and a body of cavalry, reached Springfield. After a rest of one hour, the Lincoln infantry and artillery crossed the river for the purpose of seizing Day and his party. At the same time, General Shepard moved up the river on the east bank, and the cavalry went up the river on the ice to prevent a junction of Day and Shays. There was no inclination to fight among the insurgents, who retired as the militia advanced, their numbers lessening by desertions as they went. The pursuit was vigorously maintained, until the insurgent leaders were captured or driven from the state; but several months elapsed before quiet was entirely restored. The peace of Springfield was not again disturbed by the rebellion.

The insurrection was practically subdued before Shays appeared before the arsenal. Most of the men of influence who had taken part in the earlier proceedings of the insurgents had withdrawn from active participation with them. Some of them were affrighted at the confusion they had aided in creating. Others had become convinced of the power of the state to enforce its laws and punish offenders. There were others who could not be induced to lift their hands against the federal authority or property, and there was an evident distrust of the capacity of the insurgent leaders to successfully conduct a rebellious enterprise. Shays, though his personal courage is admitted, did not possess the qualities of leadership. He was a soldier of fortune, with a dull idea of personal honor, though at this late day we can, perhaps, afford to adopt the suggestion of a newspaper correspondent of the time, who spoke of him as "one

Shays, a deranged officer of the late war." He was not the man to retain the respect of his subordinates and followers. The men who cried "murder" and ran away at the first sight of blood, were not the old soldiers who had challenged the militia to a fight in the main street of Springfield in September.

Daniel Shays, who gave his name to the rebellion, was born at Hopkinton in 1747. He removed to Great Barrington and afterward resided in Pelham. After the suppression of the insurrection he removed to Sparta, N. Y., where he lived in utter poverty until 1825. Luke Day was born in West Springfield, and died there in poverty in 1801.

John Hancock, who was the first governor under the state constitution was again elected in 1787. It is no unfavorable criticism of the administration that immediately preceded him to say, that his election was generally received as a promise of the removal of the prevailing discontent. The armed insurrection had been suppressed, but the work of bringing the people of the state to a cordial and unanimous support of the constitution and laws remained to be performed. The new governor assumed this difficult undertaking and accomplished it. John Hancock did not believe in the religion of hate. Nine of the leading insurgents, who were convicted of treason and sentenced to death were pardoned, some of them at the foot of the gallows, the only condition being that they should never hold any office, civil or military, within the commonwealth. A large number of persons convicted of seditious offenses were pardoned unconditionally. A member of the legislature, who was convicted of treasonable practices, was sentenced to stand for an hour on the gallows, with a rope around his neck, and to pay a fine of fifty pounds. This seems to have been the only sentence carried into execution. It would be a good plan, perhaps, to revive this mode of dealing with recreant legislators. Conciliatory measures were adopted by the legislature. The sullen mutterings of the defeated insurgents gradually subsided. Commerce soon settled commercial difficulties in its own way, as it always does if unfettered by meddlesome legislation, and a season of prosperity ensued. The rebellion was ended, at last, in accordance

with the grand precepts of the gospel of forgiveness and of peace. And all history tells us that rebellion is never completely conquered in any other way.

The treasurer reported that a donation to the funds of the society of \$100 had been received from Miss Charlotte Lombard of Springfield, and donations of valuable papers had been received from S. K. Foster and Mrs. Amos Call.

JANUARY 7, 1878.—QUARTERLY MEETING.

An interesting and eloquent address was delivered by Rev. A. D. MAYO, on the "Beginnings of the Common School in America."

The subject was further discussed by Rev. M. C. STEBBINS, Rev. Dr. BUCKINGHAM, A. P. STONE, and the SECRETARY.

APRIL 1, 1878.—ANNUAL MEETING.

Officers were elected as follows:

President.—HENRY MORRIS.

Vice-Presidents.—A. L. SOULE, S. O. LAMB, L. CLARK SEELYE.

Clerk and Treasurer.—WILLIAM RICE.

Directors.—SAMUEL G. BUCKINGHAM, E. W. BOND, WILLIAM L. SMITH, WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF, JOHN W. HARDING, HENRY S. LEE.

REV. CHARLES HAMMOND of Monson, read the following review of

PETERS'S HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT.

Rev. Samuel Peters was born at Hebron, Conn., in 1735, graduated at Yale in 1757, ordained in England as an Episcopal clergyman in 1759, and returning to America in 1760, he served as rector of missionary churches in Hebron, Hartford, and other places, fourteen years, till 1774, residing at Hebron.

The period of his service in the ministry was nearly coincident with all the important events which led to the American Revolution. From the beginning of the great controversy he was a most determined royalist. He became so obnoxious to the Patriots, or Sons of Liberty, that in 1774, the year before the war began, he fled to England, one of the early loyalist refugees, where he resided thirty-one years.

As he lost his estates by confiscation, and his office as a missionary rector, he received a grant from the British government, besides a yearly pension.

In consequence of a quarrel with William Pitt, the celebrated statesman, his name was struck from the pension roll, and not long after, in 1805, he returned to the United States. He died in the city of New York, April 19, 1826, in the ninety-first year of his age.

He had two brothers in Hebron, who were loyalists, and served in the royal army—one of them, Bemslic Peters, fled first to England, and then resided in Canada, on a large land grant, made by the British government. He was the father of the late John S. Peters of Hebron, Governor of the State of Con-

necticut in 1831-32. John T. Peters of Hebron, was for many years judge of the superior court. He was a near relative of Governor Peters. Both were politicians of the Jefferson and toleration school.

John Peters, the brother of Rev. Samuel, was at first a patriot, and gave information against him for writing letters to the British government. He afterwards became a most devoted loyalist, and commanded a company of loyal rangers recruited in Canada. After the peace, he went to England, and died there in 1788. A notice of him concludes with these words:—"Rebellion and Loyalty are alike fatal to some families, and alike prosperous to others (Sabine, 2, p. 183)."

Some of the Peters family of Hebron were patriots. General Absalom Peters served his country in the war of Independence. He was the father of Rev. Dr. Absalom Peters of Williamstown, well known as an editor, and as the Secretary of the Home Missionary Society.

Exasperated with the treatment he received from the Sons of Liberty, Rev. Samuel Peters went into exile, breathing out threatenings and slaughter against his enemies. Letters intercepted on the eve of his departure, show that he was "in high spirits," in view of the speedy overthrow of the rebels. "Six regiments are now coming from England," he said, "and sundry men of war. So soon as they come, hanging work will go on. The lintel sprinkled on the side posts will preserve the faithful."

He expected every colony charter would soon be annulled, that all the New England provinces would be reconstructed, and that Connecticut would be divided and annihilated. These were his words of exultation: "The bounds of New York may extend directly to Connecticut river, Boston meet them, New Hampshire take the province of Maine, and Rhode Island be swallowed up as Dathan," (Sabine, vol. 2, 181).

During the Revolutionary war he spent his time in writing books and pamphlets against his own country, and especially against his native state of Connecticut. In 1781 he published in London his "Life of Jonathan Trumbull, the Rebel Governor

of Connecticut," and the same year his "General History of Connecticut" appeared in London. That history was brought down as the title page asserts, "to the close of the latest period of amity with Great Britain," which was ended, not by the battle of Lexington, but by the acts of the Windham mobs instigated, as he affirmed, by Governor Trumbull, in driving Rev. Samuel Peters out of the country. The appendix of the history of Connecticut contains a long report of this most treasonable personal proceeding.

An American edition of Peters's history was published at New Haven in 1829 by an unknown editor. The motive was supposed by Governor Peters to be chiefly curiosity. In the preface new fables and exaggerations were inserted. A second edition has recently been published by the Appletons, and edited by Samuel Jarvis McCormick, a great grandson of the author. It purports to be a reprint of the original London edition, but it is somewhat garbled. This republication, with notes and additions, and we may add, with editorial variations of the original work, was designed as a means of defense of the author, the ancestor of the editor, against "the unjust and unwarrantable attacks of Dr. J. H. Trumbull" of Hartford.

Mr. McCormick regards his ancestor "as a good, venerable old clergyman, who was driven away from his country, his estates being sequestered, for obeying the laws of his country, and the dictates of his conscience, by the fanatics of Connecticut." (At the time of his banishment he was thirty-eight years old).

The offense of Dr. Trumbull, the well known philologist and antiquarian, consisted in publishing a book two years ago, with the title, "The *True Blue* Laws of Connecticut and New Haven, and the *false Blue* Laws, invented or forged by Rev. Samuel Peters."

Mr. McCormick gives another reason for a new edition, the rarity of the old edition of 1781, assigning as the cause of that rarity, that the issue of the first edition which came to this country was publicly burnt, and a republication in the state "was prohibited by the court."

The book was rare, doubtless, but not because of interdiction.

The decree of no court has ever suppressed that work. It was just as safe to print it in New Haven in 1829, as at New York in 1817. The best and briefest way to refute Peters, is the one provided by his latest editor—the opportunity to read his book and its commentary.

The lack of personal worth in the character of Peters, as well as of every claim to respect as a historian, is apparent from what he says of himself and his family, including his pretended relatives.

Under the garb of anonymous authorship, the autobiography of Peters is introduced into several of his publications.

In his description of Hebron in his General History, published in 1781, he says, "Here resides Rev. Samuel Peters, an Episcopal clergyman, who, by his generosity and zeal for the church has rendered himself famous both in *Old* and *New* England, and in some degree made an atonement for the fanaticism and treason of his uncle *Hugh*, and of his ancestor on his mother's side, *Major General Thomas Harrison*, both of whom were hanged at Charing Cross in the last century"—1660.

Hugh Peters and Thomas Harrison were both hanged, drawn and quartered after the restoration, as regicides of Charles the First.

In his life of Governor Trumbull, Peters introduces himself "as a church clergyman of an ancient, opulent family, and one of those whom *they* (the people of Connecticut) style their *noblesse*, being descended from so and so, etc.," also, that "his wife was a descendant of Dr. John Owen." He *meant*, that is, the famous puritan divine and chancellor of Oxford University in Cromwell's time.

It is a fact that Peters did marry a great-granddaughter of a John Owen of Windsor, Conn. Stiles says he came from Wales, where he was born in 1624, and had a son *Joseph*, who went to Hebron. Dr. J. H. Trumbull of Hartford is authority for the statement, that, "John Owen of Windsor, Conn., was a contemporary and eight years junior of Dr. John Owen of Oxford, England. I find no evidence that they were kinsmen, though it is possible.

(Dr. John Owen, the Divine, was born at Stadham, Oxfordshire, in 1616. He was the second son of Henry Owen, originally of Dolgelly, Meronethshire, North Wales. See Middleton's *Evangelical Biography*.)

In his life of Trumbull, Peters gives an account of his social position, and assigns these two reasons why his merits were not appreciated; one, grounded in the principle he assumes to be general that, "in proportion to a man's goodness is he persecuted;" the other resting on the fact that his politics were unpopular. These are his words on this last point.

"Mr. Peters's style of life in Connecticut was generous and exemplary, and his fortune considerable. It is most likely he would have arrived to the government of the colony, had he not forsaken the republican system of his ancestors, and become an admirer of the English constitution and a convert to the Church of England."

Gov. John S. Peters, in a letter published in Sprague's *Annals*, says that the ruling passion of Rev. Samuel Peters was ambition. He loved kings, admired the British government and revered the hierarchy. He aped the style of an English nobleman, built his house in a forest, kept his coach, and looked with scorn on republicans; hence he encountered the fierce opposition of the whigs of 1774.

Peters's lack of character appears not only from his own vain pretensions, but from his groundless claim of family connection, with persons of celebrity having the name of Peters.

In 1807, after his return to the United States, he published his "*Life of Hugh Peters, arch Intendant of the Prerogative Court of Doctor's Commons*." Savage calls this a worthless book, "which for its perpetual indifference to truth, and frequent bold violations of it, Farmer thought it hazardous to quote."

Rev. Samuel Peters claimed Hugh Peters as a relative, calling him uncle, regicide though he was, and guilty of the greatest crimes, according to an ultra loyalist's estimate of depravity.

Hugh Peters had a brother, Rev. Thomas Peters, a man of more moderation, but having less notoriety. For this uncle, an

extraordinary celebrity was manufactured by the author of the general history of Connecticut.

The following statements are made concerning Rev. Thomas Peters.

That he, with George Fenwick, laid out the first town, built the first fort, and established the first church within the limits of the colony of Connecticut, all at Saybrook in the year 1634. And "this parent town of the whole colony was settled by a large number of people sent from England."

That Rev. Thomas Peters, though an exile from England for his non-conformity with the church faith, was such a liberal puritan that he used a part of the liturgy of the English church in public worship.

That, for that reason, the Massachusetts people allowed Rev. Thomas Hooker to settle at Hartford, to impede and break up the Peterites at Saybrook.

That, Saybrook thus became a little Zoar, or place of refuge for Hooker's heretics.

That, when Hooker was dead, the Saybrook colony formed an alliance with Hartford for protection against New Haven, their common enemy, fearing "lest Cromwell would put them under the power of the furious Davenport."

That, Davenport involved the Saybrook colony in war with Sassacus, the Sachem of the Pequots, which resulted in his death, and the destruction of all his tribe, and the consequent enlargement of the New Haven colony.

That, Rev. Thomas Peters established a school at Saybrook, called afterwards the "Schola Illustris," and nearly thirty years afterwards he gave his library to that school.

That, about 1700, this school was incorporated under the name of Yale college, in honor of a gentleman who was governor of one of the West India Islands.

Now all these statements are fictions, pure and unmitigated. The facts are:

That, John Winthrop built the Saybrook fort in the latter part of the year 1635.

That, Capt. John Mason annihilated the Pequots, and the

Mohawks killed their sachem in 1637, a year before John Dav-
enport settled New Haven, and two years before George Fen-
wick and Rev. Thomas Peters came to Saybrook, in 1639.

That, Thomas Peters came to Saybrook three years, at least,
after the up-river towns were planted, and during that time
Hooker's heretics had no Zoar, or place of refuge.

That, Thomas Peters remained in the country less than three
years, and lived most of that time at Pequod, or New London,
with John Winthrop, and then went to England.

That, there is not a particle of evidence that Rev. Thomas
Peters was any less a puritan, in matters of church polity, or
ritual, than his brother Hugh Peters, the regicide, was.

That, no school of a higher grade than a common school was
established in early times at Saybrook, and no library was ever
bequeathed to a school there, "*Schola Illustris*," or other.

That, Yale college was founded with no relation or connection
with any school at Saybrook or elsewhere.

That, it is doubtful whether Elihu Yale, though a great trav-
eler, was ever in the West Indies in his life. He was governor
of the famous East India Company, and made his fortune in the
East Indies. The epitaph on his Wrexham monument says, he
was:

In America born, in Europe bred,
In Afric traveled, in Asia wed,
In London dead, etc.

How could a graduate of Yale college, and a minister of the
gospel, weave such a tissue of fables, relating to and perverting
the history of his native state and the origin of his own college?

The surmise has been suggested, though seemingly impossible,
that to gain credit for the Peters family abroad, was the motive
for publishing in England, what nobody has ever believed in
America.

Among the reasons which Peters gives for writing his history
one is, "that no other author before him had introduced Con-
necticut to the world." In proportion to its size, the province
was more flourishing and populous than any in the country.
Yet Mather, Neal and Governor Hutchinson had aggrandized

Massachusetts as containing about all that was worthy of attention in America.

Another reason was, that no author before him had *dared* to write the history of Connecticut. The people of that colony did not wish to have their true history exposed, and it was perilous to do it. They wished to have their sinister views and purposes involved in obscurity. Prudence dictated the concealment "of their defective title to the soil, of their barbarous and wanton persecution, of their illegal practices, and of their daring usurpations," etc.

After living seven years in his safe retreat in London, the author had gathered courage enough to bring to light "long concealed truths," to dissipate knavery and prejudice, "to show to the world in proper colors" the country and people of Connecticut and their *transactions*.

Modern travelers and explorers in Palestine find everywhere marvelous proofs of the truth of Biblical geography. A fair inference comes from this fact, that if the Bible tells the truth about the *places* in the holy land, we may believe its writers in what they say about the *people* and *institutions* of the ancient Hebrews.

Let us see what Peters said about the geography and natural history of Connecticut, and then consider some of his statements concerning its civil and religious history.

Peters said, Connecticut contained 5,000,000 acres in the limits which have not changed much in a hundred years. It contains less than 3,000,000.

Peters said, "half of its territory is swallowed up, that is, 2,500,000 acres, by rivers, ponds, creeks, or brooks and *roads*."

Connecticut river, he says, is five hundred miles long and four miles wide at its mouth, and its channel in general is half a mile wide.

The Mississippi is a trifle over half a mile wide, from below the mouth of the Ohio to New Orleans. In its ordinary flow through Massachusetts and Connecticut, the Connecticut river varies in width from one-tenth to one-fifth of a mile.

Peters says there is a great bending or *coho*s in the upper

part of the river, where it spreads out twenty-four miles wide, that for five or six weeks, ships of war may sail over lands which afterwards produce the greatest crops of hay and grain in all America.

At the outlet of this upper cohoos, or spring lake, he says there is a chasm in the river only five yards wide, and four hundred feet long, made by the shelving mountains whose tops reach the clouds. In the London edition there is a diagram of this chasm. Here, he says, the water is consolidated, without frost, between the sturdy punching rocks, to such a degree of hardness that an iron crow cannot be forced into it. Here, iron, cork and lead, have a common weight. Here, steady as time and harder than marble, the stream passes through, as irresistible, if not as swift as lightning.

And yet Peters says, on this water harder than marble, a squaw once passed in safety through this chasm in a canoe, when she was drunk.

People in England, in reading the wonders of the place, now known as Bellows Falls, might have supposed Niagara Falls was described.

The residents of this region, a century ago, must have been nearly as well informed about the scenery of Connecticut river as we are.

In Windham, Connecticut, there is a certain pond, called on the ancient maps Frog pond, a few miles only from Hebron, and said in Peters's book to be three miles square, or nine square miles in capacity. It is actually about a half a mile long and varies in width from ten rods to fifty or sixty rods.

While writing his history in exile, Peters would forget Windham. The Windham boys were among the last persons of his acquaintance he parted from in America. They paid him two visits at Hebron in great numbers, and fearing a third call he left the country.

Peters's version of the famous Windham frog legend differs from the other versions in poetry or prose, in its extravagant details, one of which refers to the size of the pond from which the frogs started to go to the Willimantic river. Some of the

details as to number and distance, etc., are too monstrous to be ludicrous. Thus he says, "the frogs in their march from the pond, five miles to Windham town, were obliged to *take the highway by necessity*, and this road, forty yards or one hundred and twenty feet wide, was filled with the train, which was also four miles long, and was several hours in passing." There were about thirty distinct voices "heard among the pipers," that is, the musicians of this train, and they were heard several miles, and the voices of some of them were like the bellowing of a bull, etc.

Norwich, like Windham, was a very patriotic town in the Revolution. A noted tory, Francis Green, was induced to leave that place about the same time that Peters fled from Hebron, the Windham boys serving as an escort on the occasion.

Peters gives his opinion of the people of Norwich in the words of Rev. George Whitfield, which he says he quotes from a farewell sermon of that evangelist, in his last visit to that town:

"I told you (the people of Norwich) twenty years ago, that you were part beast, part man, and part devil; and you were offended. I confess that for once, I was mistaken, and now I wish to correct my error. I now tell you, you are not part man, and part beast, but wholly of the devil."

Peters says that Whitfield, when at Saybrook, attempted to work a miracle, in destroying the walls of the old fort, as Joshua did the walls of Jericho. He walked around the fort several times, with prayer, and with rams horns blowing, but without effect. Whereupon he cursed the people of Saybrook, shook off the dust of his feet against them, and went to Lyme.

The reputation of Whitfield has never suffered harm from Peters's report of his preaching at Norwich, or his wonder-working at Saybrook.

Professor Kingsley, of Yale College, said that he once asked Dr. Benjamin Trumbull why he never quoted Peters as authority in his own history of Connecticut—a work distinguished for its cautious regard for truth.

Dr. Trumbull had known Peters from early life. They were natives of the same town of Hebron, and contemporaries in

college. He said to Professor Kingsley, that of all men he was ever acquainted with, his word was least to be depended upon as to a matter of fact, especially in story-telling.

The statements in Peters's History as to the character of the founders of the Connecticut colonies, are more extravagant and untruthful than anything he has written concerning the natural history of the country.

His chief accusations are their cruel treatment of the Indians, and their most wicked and relentless persecution of those who would not accept the Puritan faith. He denounces Rev. Thomas Hooker, the leading founder of the Connecticut colony, as guilty of the worst of crimes, in devising the death of the chief Indian sachem, Connecticote, after having endeavored in vain to convert him to Christianity. This act of murder was done by infusing the leaves of a Bible, sent as a present, with the virus of small pox. The great sachem thus miserably perished, and his people were wasted and annihilated by that dreadful disease. Peters declares that Governor Haynes and his assembly were accessories to this horrible plot, having for its purpose the possession of lands long coveted in vain while Connecticote was alive, but easily obtained after his death.

Peters declares that Eaton and Davenport, of New Haven, were guilty of the same great crimes of murder and the wickedest fraud for the sake of gain.

Davenport first attempted to convert Quinnipiog, the sachem of the region, and failing in that object, he converted Sunsquaw by presents and great promises, who betrayed his master, Quinnipiog, and the settlers killed him. Thus the New Haven colony gained the only title to the soil it ever had.

It may be stated here that the early records of the Connecticut and New Haven colonies are all preserved, including the first treaties with the Indians. Within a few years these records have been published, under the direction of such able anti-quarians as Dr. J. H. Trumbull and C. J. Hoadley.

It is also true, that not a particle of evidence has shown that any sachems, named Connecticote, Quinnipiog and Sunsquaw ever existed anywhere except in the imagination of Rev. Sam-

uel Peters. Of course every circumstance relating to plots of poisoning and assassination are nothing but myths.

On the other hand, abundant evidence exists to prove that the treatment of the Indians by the early settlers of Connecticut, was equitable and humane. The colony of New Haven never had any war with the savages, because, as Hubbard says, the colonists were always willing to deal justly with them on all occasions.

Professor Kingsley declares that William Penn was not a whit more kind to the Indians than the settlers of the New Haven colony; that, in fact, the Indian policy of Penn and Davenport were in principle the very same.

As to the charge of persecution, not Connecticut only, but all New England, is denounced in the following sweeping malediction of Rev. Samuel Peters.

"The ecclesiastical courts of New England have, in the last 160 years, bored the tongues with hot needles, branded the foreheads, cut off the ears, banished, imprisoned and hanged more Quakers, Baptists, Ranters (that is new lights), and Episcopalians for what they call heresy, blasphemy and witchcraft, than there are instances of persecution in Fox's Book of Martyrs or under the bishops of England since the death of Henry the Eighth;" that, of course, includes the reign of bloody Mary.

Again, it is said, in the ordinary style of the writer, "The Puritans were weak in Old England and strong in New England, where they out-poped the pope, out-kinged the king, and out-bishoped the bishops. Their murders and persecutions prove their strength lay in weakness, their religion in ambition, wealth and dominion."

We have the following piece of information concerning Gov. Eaton and Rev. John Davenport of New Haven, found in no other history but Peters's.

"They (Eaton and Davenport) betrayed such an extreme wantonness of cruelty and oppression that even the religious fanatics of Boston held a day of Thanksgiving to God, because in His good providence He had stationed them so far from them."

A few facts will put this aspersion of the best of men in clear light.

Eaton and Davenport landed in Boston in June, 1637, and lived there nine months, when they began their settlement of New Haven in April, 1638. They were both of high repute before they came to America. Eaton had been a London merchant, and had served the king as an ambassador at the court of Denmark. Davenport was a prince of preachers at St. Stephen's, London, and worthy to be a preacher to princes. While he tarried in Boston, he was employed in most important public services.

Eaton was the first governor of the New Haven colony, continued in office till his death by eighteen successive re-elections. Bancroft says twenty.

No public character in the early annals of this country has a fairer fame. The epitaph on his monument at New Haven will receive the assent and approval of all future generations.

"Eaton so famed, so wise, so meek, so just. His name forget New England never must." Davenport was pastor of the first church in New Haven so long as the colony he had assisted in planting, endured; that is, twenty-seven years. He was then installed the pastor of the first church in Boston.

In Mr. Ellis's Church, his name appears in a memorial window in the long list of its honored pastors and teachers. *John Wilson* the first, *John Cotton* the second, and *John Davenport* the third name in letters of light.

In view of these facts, how malicious is the falsehood that Boston people rejoiced because Davenport was settled so far away from them in the years of his full vigor, when they were glad to install him as their pastor even in his old age.

This is not the time or place to repel, by specific proof, general accusations of persecution and oppression against the founders of Connecticut and New Haven colonies.

But the opinions of some witnesses are worthy of consideration and confidence. The testimony of Roger Williams has weight as to a question of fact, whether freedom of conscience was restricted in Connecticut by Hooker, Haynes, Eaton and Davenport.

Roger Williams writes thus to Major John Mason, the hero of the Pequot war, in a letter published in vol. 1st of Mass. Hist. Collections.

"That heavenly minded man, Mr. Haynes, Governor of Connecticut, though he pronounced the sentence of my long banishment at Cambridge (that was when he was Governor of Massachusetts), yet said to me in his own house at Hartford,

"I think, Mr. Williams, I must now confesse to you that the most wise God hath provided and cut out this part of His world for a refuge and a receptacle for all sorts of consciences."

Bancroft asserts, "There never existed a persecuting spirit in Connecticut," and he quotes Douglass, who, in his summary said, "I never heard of any spirit of persecution there," repelling such a charge as an egregious aspersion, although he had little sympathy with the Puritans.

Dr. Horace Bushnell says, Episcopacy was tolerated, when there were not seventy families in the whole colony.

This toleration did not relieve Episcopal churches or other dissenting sects, from legal obligation to support their own faith and ritual.

Not till long after the Revolution was the state relieved from the responsibility to support religious institutions. Such being the policy of the law everywhere, except in Rhode Island, it must be conceded that the administration of the law was very liberal, though we may discard the policy as unwise and unjust.

Every reader of Peters's History will notice that the New Haven colony was the theme of his special malediction. It was called an "Independent Dominion, which was the tyrant of tyrants." Every year emigrants arrived from England to settle in this Dominion; but few remained in the town of New Haven, because Eaton, Davenport and the deacons possessed all the power there, and were determined to keep it. Hence the little towns on the sea-coast, such as Guilford, Stamford and Stratford, had their origin in the cruel and bloody persecutions of Eaton and Davenport, but persecution domineered with as much fury in those towns as at New Haven, for each town judged itself to be an Independent Dominion.

These laws, made by the people of New Haven colony before its incorporation with Connecticut, were called Blue Laws.

They were so cruel, that even the religious fanatics of Boston and the mad zealots of Hartford gave them this title of *blue laws* or *bloody laws*, for they were "all sanctified with excommunication, confiscation, fines, banishment, whippings, cutting off the ears, burning the tongue, and death." "The religion of the first settlers at New Haven was fanaticism turned mad."

"There were a vast multitude of these *laws*, and the projectors of them were not men of grace, justice and liberty, for nothing but murders, plunders and persecutions marked their steps."

"Laws like these, still prevail," said Peters, in 1781, over New England as the common law of the country.

Peters admits that the Blue Laws of the New Haven colony were *never suffered to be printed* before his time.

He was the first historian who, in 1781, ventured to sketch and print forty-five, out of a vast multitude of unprinted and unpublished laws, enacted by a colony that had ceased to exist one hundred and sixteen years before he undertook the business of a brief codification.

Some of these forty-five laws were sanctioned by penalties of torture and death, and yet they do not appear in the printed list of laws against capital offenses.

Some of these forged Blue Laws of Peters are frivolous and absurd to the last degree, as the following:

"No one shall run on the Sabbath day or walk in his garden or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting.

No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair or shave on the Sabbath day.

No woman shall kiss her child on the Sabbath or fast days.

No minister shall keep a school.

No one shall buy or sell land without permission of the selectmen.

No one shall read common prayer, keep Christmas, make mince pies, dance, play cards, or play on any instrument of music except the drum, trumpet or jews-harp."

Peters not only *invented* the Blue Law code, but he *forged legal cases* for its application.

Such an instance was the Grigson will case, a groundless and infamous fiction.

Another instance was the Potter case, made up by the gross perversion of a story he found in Mather's *Magnalia*. Dr. J. H. Trumbull says this is the most atrocious lie in the whole book.

Another instance is that of an Episcopal clergyman who, so late as 1750, was fined for breaking the Sabbath law, *once* for combing the hair of his wig, *again* for walking too fast from church, and *still again* for running into a church when it rained.

The story of the Grigson will case seems to have been invented for two purposes; one to show the illiberality of the Blue law which restrained the buying and selling land without leave of the selectmen, and the other to show how bitter was the hatred of Eaton and Davenport against Episcopacy.

The site or lot of land in New Haven, to which the Grigson will case refers, is that on which the so-called Glebe building stands. In that building were the rooms of the society, so well remembered by many of the older Alumni of Yale, as the Brothers in Unity. That lot has belonged for a century or more to Trinity Church.

Peters's legend about that lot is for substance, as follows:—

An English gentleman named Grigson, in his travels came to New Haven in 1644, and pleased with the place, purchased a large lot and sent to London for his family.

But before they came he became dissatisfied with the peculiar, civil and religious institutions of the place, and so resolved to quit as soon as his family came, and return to England; and so he advertised the sale of his property. But the selectmen, acting under their Blue law, would not grant leave to sell, and no one could buy.

So Mr. Grigson made his will, as the only thing he could do, leaving part of the estate for the use of an Episcopal clergyman, and the rest to his heirs, and depositing his will with a friend, sailed for England with his family, and died on the passage.

The friend proved the will, had it recorded, and died soon after. The record of the will was concealed by glueing two leaves together.

Some years after, the selectmen sold the whole estate to pay taxes, though the rent of Mr. Grigson's house for one year would pay the taxes for ten.

In 1750, one hundred and six years after Grigson bought the land, one hundred and four after his death, an Episcopal clergyman asked the town clerk for a copy of Grigson's will, was told there was none, and was refused the liberty of search. In 1768, the king's collector of the port, Harrison, obtained leave to search the records, found the glued leaves, separated them, took a copy of Grigson's will attested by the clerk, sued for the ejectment of the possessors of the estate. The result was that people of New Haven resigned the lands to the church on Harrison's own terms.

"This sad and awful discovery of Grigson's will, after being concealed more than one hundred years," revealed, says Peters, "the true character of Davenport and Eaton, the leaders of the first settlers of New Haven." The following facts are fully proved:

There was such a man as Thomas Grigson in New Haven, in 1644. He sailed for England in 1646. That he died on the passage is hardly true, for it is implied that the ship came to port, which she did not. The exact truth is that Thomas Grigson was lost at sea, with all on board the famous "Phantom ship." Many good men of New Haven perished with Mr. Grigson.

Mr. Grigson was not an English traveler in 1644. He came to New Haven in 1638, with Eaton and Davenport, a man of their own heart, and a magistrate of the colony. He did not leave in disgust, but was sent to England as the fittest man to procure a charter for the colony. He never had any trouble with the selectmen of New Haven, for there were never any such officers in the New Haven colony. Peters did not know that fact. That fact proves that his Blue law, defining the duties of selectmen, was a forgery.

Mr. Grigson did not send for his family from, nor sail with them to England. They came to New Haven when he did. They lived there after his death. Thomas Grigson never made a will,

although others that sailed in the Phantom ship did. Of course no friend ever got that will recorded, nor was it ever concealed by glue, and, of course, no writs of ejectment were ever issued for the recovery of property bequeathed to anybody by a will which nobody made.

There are many more interesting facts relating to the history of the Glebe property in New Haven, which may be found in the appendix of Professor Kingsley's discourse, in an article on Chronology, by Professor Kingsley, in the 5th volume of the *New Englander* for 1847, and also in an address on that subject by Rev. Dr. Beardsley, published in 1870, in the transactions of the New Haven Historical Society.

I have given enough facts "in the Grigson will case" to show the value of the veracity of Rev. Samuel Peters in that matter. His malicious fiction was throttled by Professor Kingsley, but it died as hard a death as Giant Despair did when Doubting castle was demolished.

Peters tried to make the people of England believe—there was no use in trying to make anybody elsewhere believe—that he and all who belonged to the church of England were dreadfully persecuted by the sober dissenters of Connecticut.

There is no doubt that, during the war of the Revolution and for some years previous, Episcopal clergymen and the laity of the church suffered privations, and sometimes considerable odium in consequence of the highly excited state of popular feeling. The members of the Episcopal churches and parishes were generally opposed to the war, and there were natural causes for their opposition, or at least for a neutral position in respect to the great controversy. Nearly all the Episcopal ministers were missionaries of feeble churches, supported in large measure by English funds. The ritual service of the church contained prayers for the King and Parliament, which no clergyman had liberty to omit. Hence, during the war, the churches were mostly closed, and the ministers must have suffered much from loss of income, and, if imprudent like Peters, they would naturally have received decisive expressions of public odium, if they were not treated with violence.

When a minister was deprived of his living and banished as Peters was, he must have had the sympathy of his sect, who did not care, generally, to consider whether what he had said concerning the founders and dissenting ministers of the colony was true or false. But not all the ministers and members of the Church of England were loyalists in the Revolution. In the Central and Southern colonies many of the leading patriots were Episcopalians. In Connecticut there were devoted patriots who belonged to the Church of England. They dearly loved the liberty secured by the charter of Connecticut, which the people of all denominations had enjoyed for a longer period before the Revolution than they have since.

There is no more interesting passage in Bancroft than that which gives an account of the interview between Lord Hillsborough and William Samuel Johnson, the agent of Connecticut to the Court of London. The outlines of the discussion on that occasion are drawn, in which the rights of Connecticut granted in the charter of Charles the II. were defended by Johnson, with masterly ability and with the most solemn assurances that they never would be surrendered by the people of Connecticut.

Yet Johnson's allegiance to the English church was as sincere as that of George Washington. If Episcopalians suffered in the war, it was not because they were not puritans, but because they were not patriots and republicans.

When the war was ended the people of Connecticut turned their thoughts to the future rather than to the past. They were little disposed to read Peters's newly published history. Still less were they disposed to burn it, as its recent editor McCormick says they were. They believed themselves able to endure his vituperation; they did not think it worth while to refute his falsehoods. They were, perhaps, too indifferent to defend the good name of the early fathers which he had dishonored.

Doubtless there were many in the times immediately after the Revolution, and indeed there have been too many in all times since, who through ignorance or malice were quite ready to believe the fables of Peters, extravagant and improbable as they were. Some of his fictions have become firmly established in

the faith of those classes in the community who bear no good will to the civil and religious polity and faith of the Puritans.

The two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of New Haven in 1638, was observed with great interest. That celebration, nearly forty years ago, occurred early in the series of bi-centennial festivals. It commemorated the origin of the city of New Haven, and also the beginning of that New England colony which was historically related to Connecticut as Plymouth was to Massachusetts.

It was a fit time to direct attention to the founders of the New Haven colony, to gather evidence of their real character and institutions, to vindicate their just claims to respect and veneration, and to defend their memory from unjust obloquy and reproach.

The discourse was delivered by Professor Kingsley of Yale college, and his ability for that service was equal to the importance of the occasion. The historic value of the discourse, one of the best of its kind, is due to the rare qualifications of its author, to meet the peculiar requisites of the theme. Professor Kingsley was master of the minute details of local history and biography. He had a good style for historic composition like that of Xenophon. He was a lover of pure letters and pure truth. Pedants and pretenders, as Peters was, always feared his criticisms, as moths and bats dread the light of the morning.

Professor Kingsley's historic discourse dissolved all doubts and made true interpretations as to the real character of the leading founders of New Haven colony.

From the day of its delivery, John Davenport has ranked with Robinson, Hooker, Cotton, Brewster and Williams, as one of the most learned, wisest and best puritan divines of his age on either side of the Atlantic.

So Theophilus Eaton stands on the same platform with the two Winthrops, with Bradford, Hayes and Leete.

If the colony they planted was limited and short lived, yet they gave proof of "eminency in civil services," and, as Hubbard says, "of their capability to manage the affairs of a much vaster territory than New Haven colony ever was, or was likely to be."

We know that overwhelming evidence in favor of historic truth will not secure universal assent to that truth relating to the events or the character of real history. Many minds who are faithless in regard to clear evidence of the truth are often very credulous in regard to error and delusion.

"There are thousands," said Professor Kingsley in his discourse (and I heard in the great assembly, these very words as they first fell from his lips). "There are thousands who have believed implicitly in the existence of the Blue Laws, who could scarcely be said to have any other article of faith."

Professor Kingsley raised the question, and it has been fully considered by Dr. Trumbull and others, as to the origin of the term *Blue* as applied to the laws and manners of the people of Connecticut and elsewhere.

Peters said the term was applied to the *laws* of New Haven by the neighboring colonies, because they were *so cruel and bloody*. That idea is original with Peters, and is not true, for the word was not used in any sense in this country till after the Restoration, and New Haven colony was then no more.

There is evidence that the word began to be used not far from the middle of the last century, as a term of ridicule against the puritans, for what was queer, quaint, rigid and sanctimonious in manners, dress, expenses, etc.

The epithet *blue* was also applied to all the ancient laws of all the other colonies besides New Haven and Connecticut; doubtless because in them all, there were some specimens of quaint and ridiculous legislation.

Thus real laws were called Blue without discrimination, and were confounded with the forged laws of Peters, which he made *blue*—from tissues, of which the warp and woof were of his manufacture.

In order to render a proper discrimination possible, between the real Blue and the False Blue Laws, Dr. J. H. Trumbull published, two years ago, a book with the title Blue Laws true and false—or as it is on the title page—The true Blue Laws of New Haven and Connecticut, and the False Blue Laws forged by Rev. Samuel Peters, with a very able historical essay.

This book of Dr. Trumbull is a re-publication of all the ancient constitutions, codes and court proceedings of the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven prior to the year 1662. Though called blue, they deserve that epithet no more than the Declaration of Independence deserves it, as every one will see when the topics are considered.

First, we have in this collection, the original constitution of the Connecticut colony made by the three towns of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield.

This has been called the First American Constitution.

Horace Bushnell said, this instrument gave body and shape for the first time to the genuine republican idea, that dwells as an actuating force in all the New England colonies and in all the American states.

Then follows Hooker's sermon to these constitution builders, suggesting the grand American idea to them, that the foundation of authority is laid firstly in the consent of the people.

Then we have the capital laws of Connecticut in 1642, copied from those of Massachusetts.

This is followed by the first Connecticut code of 1650.

And then we have the orders of the Connecticut court, 1636-1662.

The re-printed codes and records of the New Haven colony are:

First, The Plantation Covenant or Constitution of the New Haven colony.

Second, The New Haven code of laws, 1655.

This had become so rare, that in 1834, forty-four years ago, only one original copy was known to exist.

Third, The laws and judgments of the New Haven General Court before 1650.

Then there is appended, what are called the Blue Laws of New York, Virginia, Maryland, Massachusetts and Old England, —no less deserving of the appellation than any of the early codes of New England.

To all these titles, Dr. Trumbull gives the term *true Blue*, that is not forged blue. Persons ignorant of their nature called them blue.

In all these there may be found laws which may be in a greater or less degree noticeable in respect to "bluntness, quaintness, particularity, and antiquated excess of penalty."

If the relation of these early codes to the present condition of American civilization could have been foreseen as we now see them, nobody would ever have called them blue in a derisive sense. They might deserve to be called blue in the most ancient sense which was honorable and complimentary, as Chaucer uses the word in the sense of genuine, True Blue being the only color that never stains and never fades.

The word blue in its derisive sense, not in the bloody sense of Peters, belonged to the vocabulary of rant and rancor, which had its rise in England after a rowdy king was restored to his throne, and to his place as the head of the English hierarchy. After the fall of the Puritan commonwealth all things decent, and sober, and sacred in England were assailed with ribaldry, and later the fashion was imported to America.

The work of Dr. Trumbull will enable all readers to determine which of the early colonies was most justly exposed to derision, by reason of excessive blue manners and customs.

It is certain that New Haven was never entitled to pre-eminence in that respect.

Mr. McCormick published a new edition of Peters's history to repel the unjust attacks of Dr. Trumbull against the character of his ancestor, the author. The nephew of that ancestor, Gov. John S. Peters, said of this very work, that its statements were apocryphal and ludicrous, and that it was never quoted as historical authority.

It is strange that this History of Connecticut should ever have been written by a minister of the gospel, and stranger still, that twenty years after, that same *minister* should have aspired to the place of bishop in the Episcopal church. Such is the fact, but the attempt failed of success. An account of this matter appears in Dr. Sprague's annals, and a more complete history of the affair was published in a pamphlet published in 1797, by Colonel John A. Graham, author of a History of Vermont, published in 1797. A copy of this pamphlet is in the Massachu-

setts Historical Collections. It contains a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, giving the reasons why Peters could not be consecrated to the office of bishop.

In the last years of his life Peters became a land speculator, claiming rights in a large tract west of the Mississippi river.

In the year, 1817, when he was eighty-one years old, he visited his land situated near the Falls of St. Anthony, and spent the winter at Prairie DuChien. This fact shows his natural energy and resolution. He returned to New York in 1818, and lived in poverty and seclusion. In 1825 Governor Peters visited him, to induce him, if possible, to remove to Hebron and spend the remainder of life in his family. He rejected every inducement with impatience, and at last with rage, saying, "I won't go, I'll die first."

Rev. Samuel Peters has generally been called Dr. Peters, and in the Yale Triennial an alibi degree of doctor of laws is accredited. Governor Peters said the degree was given by one of the Scotch universities, but this is an error. A letter of Peters recently found, responds to the direct question as to the origin of his diploma, that *Cortona*, Tuscany, Italy, was the source. The truth of this is doubted for good reasons. Dr. J. H. Trumbull remarks:

I do not assert that Peters stole his literary degree, but I more than suspect he *invented* it, as he did his "Blue Laws."

MR. T. M. DEWEY presented the following paper :

EARLY NAVIGATION OF THE CONNECTICUT RIVER.—THE FIRST STEAMBOAT.

The Connecticut river has its sources in New Hampshire and the mountainous tracts of Lower Canada or Canada East. Its general course is south. It is navigable for vessels of considerable burthen for a distance of fifty miles to Hartford, Ct., and to Middletown, about thirty miles from the sound, for vessels of twelve feet draft. It is the Quonektacut of the Indians, said to signify "Long River," or, as it is rendered by others, the "River of Pines."

Its western branch forms the boundary line between the United States and Canada; and the main river, dividing Vermont and New Hampshire, crosses the western part of Massachusetts; passes through the central part of Connecticut, and after a fall of about sixteen hundred feet in its whole length of four hundred and ten miles, enters Long Island sound in about 41 degrees north latitude. At Middletown, Ct., it bears off considerably to the east. Its width varies from one hundred and fifty feet at its entrance between Vermont and New Hampshire, to four hundred feet at Orford, and eleven hundred feet at Springfield. The navigation of its upper course was improved by means of locks and canals, which secure boat navigation to the mouth of Wells river in Vermont, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles above Hartford. The falls of most celebrity are Bellows falls, Queechee and White river falls in New Hampshire and Vermont, Turner's and South Hadley falls in Massachusetts, and Enfield falls in Connecticut. The descent of the river between White river falls and the foot of Enfield falls, when it meets tide-water, is above three hundred and seventy feet.

Since the clearing up of the forests along its banks and adjoining country, the channel of the river has materially changed, and notably at the "Ox-Bow" at Newbury, Vt., at Old Hadley, and at Hocanum. At this last place it has, within a few years, cut its way directly across the neck of the bow, which shortens the distance three and one-half or four miles. At Hadley, where it takes a bend of six miles to gain only one, it has worn its way into those beautiful meadows at the "upper side" more than its whole width. So that a well which once stood in Hadley on the east side is now quite a distance from the river bank in Hatfield on the west side of the river.

The canal at South Hadley Falls was made by the Hollanders, probably as early as 1790, or thereabout, and the boats were passed up and down upon an inclined plane. The locks at this place were built by Ariel Cooley about the year 1796. This inclined plane is very much of a tradition at this time, as I can find no one living who can describe it in anything like detail. The opinion of the oldest men at South Hadley Falls is, that a

triangular box was sunk under the boat, and, as the whole was drawn forward out of the water, the boat itself would rest level on the box as it ascended. It is supposed that the power, fixed at the upper end of the plane, was a windlass with sweeps and carried around by horses, thus winding up the rope or chain. How the boat was again launched into the canal above, I have not learned.

In the early part of the present century, and before the locks and canal at Enfield were built, the boats used for the transportation of freight were quite small. A ten-ton boat was considered a large one, at that time. These boats, bound for Springfield or above, were propelled, unless the wind was favorable for sailing, by the laborious process of poling. A number of men, called fallsmen, kept themselves in readiness at the foot of the falls, that is, at Warehouse Point, to assist in "poling over the falls,"—the boats carrying six or eight tons. The article of rum constituted quite a large proportion of the freight in those days.

Captain Flower of Feeding Hills, who was master of a vessel for many years, running between Hartford and Boston, would take a miscellaneous cargo to Boston in the fall of the year, and, remaining there through the winter, would return in the spring as soon as the river opened, with a cargo of rum and mackerel. But the rum was better than it is now. Various methods were employed by the boatmen above Hartford to obtain their daily rations of rum on their trips up the river. Among others the following was the most novel and successful: A common junk bottle would be filled with water, and then its nozzle inserted in the bung-hole of a full barrel or hogshead of rum, whereupon, the water being of heavier specific gravity than rum, would descend into the barrel, and the rum would consequently be forced up into the bottle. This operation was liable to be repeated until the reduced strength of the rum rendered it not only impracticable but undesirable. The abrasion of the skin on the front of the shoulder, caused by the work of "poling," was in many cases very severe, especially in the early part of the season, and a frequent application of rum was necessary, which operated as a toughener as well as a cure, and it was generally

supposed to be a judicious plan to take a little inwardly, to keep it from striking to the stomach.

During these years of boating over Enfield falls, the "John Cooley boating company" was formed, consisting of John Cooley, Hosea Day, Roderick Palmer, Henry Palmer, James Brewer and the Messrs. Dwight of Springfield. A few years after (in 1820), Edmund and Frederick Palmer and Roderick Ashley joined the company, afterwards Sylvester Day and the Messrs. Stebbins.

In 1809, Springfield bridge was carried away by a freshet. Mr. Dwight, a large owner, fearing it would go, made it fast by means of a cable to a tree; but, said my informant, Mr. Adin Allen, "I guess that did n't stop it a great while." This was in Allen's boyhood, and living a mile or so above the falls, and seeing the bridge coming, he and his brother ventured out through the floating ice with a skiff, mounted the bridge and busied themselves in saving the iron bolts, until the roar of the falls and the screams of the people ashore admonished them that they had better be getting to land, which they did, by drawing their skiff across the large pieces of floating ice, just in time to escape going over the falls.

The locks and canal at Enfield were built in 1826, and thereafter the freight-boats began to increase in size, as they were not obliged to climb the falls, till at last the capacity of some of the Springfield boats reached sixty or seventy tons. But before this time a trial of steamboating was made. A company was formed for the purpose of the navigation of the river above Hartford, and bore the name of "The Connecticut River Valley Steamboat Company." Its members chiefly resided in Hartford, although a few were scattered along the line of the river. Mr. Charles Stearns of Springfield was a member, I think; also Gen. David Culver of Lyme, N. H., who afterwards became an active partner in the boating company of "Stockbridge, Culver & Co.," and the inventor of a number of improvements in boating machinery. This (Connecticut River Valley Steamboat Company) was a short-lived company, operating only one season, if I am correctly informed. There is no record of its incorporation, but

I learn from Col. C. H. Northam of Hartford that Philip Ripley of that city was its agent, and for one year only. They built a small-sized steamboat, which was run up the Connecticut about the year 1829, and was afterwards named the "Barnet." The "Barnet," Captain Nutt, master, made its first trip up the river as far as Barnet, Vt., after which it was named. It drew a crowd of spectators from all along the river bank. The farmer left his team, the merchant his store, the hired man shouldered his hoe and took to his heels, and even the girls and some of the mothers left their spinning-wheels and dish-pans and cut for the river to see the first steamboat. It was a "side-wheeler," high pressure, with two engines of twenty-horse power each, and could make about six miles an hour up stream. I learn also that in July, 1830, Colonel Clinton, son of De Witt Clinton, ran a steamboat up the Connecticut, and that on the 4th of July, 1832, Dr. Dean of Bath, N. H., was drowned from on board the steamboat "Adam Duncan;" also that in July, 1831, the "John Ledyard" ran up, probably to Wells river. These boats were stern wheelers. Upon the advent of the first named, "Barnet," Captain Nutt, master, a rollicking poem was written by a resident of Haverhill, commencing thus:

This is the day that Capt. Nutt
Sailed up the fair Connecticut.

But I have not been able to find the rest of the poetry.

This was about the time that Allen began to pilot boats over Enfield Falls, and he was employed to run the "Barnet." One day a boat was seen coming down the river having three sails, —main and top-sails, and a sail above them. Its name was not known. But it seems it was only an experiment, and probably never was tried again.

The act incorporating the "Proprietors of the upper locks and canal" (Turner's Falls) was passed in the winter of 1792. The first dam at the falls was built in 1793, by Captain Mack, and in the course of the year following, the canal was commenced. The locks were built by my grandfather, Captain Hophmi King, of Northfield, Mass. They are of sufficient size

to pass boats and boxes thirteen feet wide and sixty-eight or seventy feet long. Captain King was the first builder to "lay out" the frame of a building by the "square rule." Mr. Timothy Billings of South Deerfield, who was his apprentice, informed me that people came from great distances to see a building framed in that way. The manner of framing had, up to this time, been by the "scribe rule."

There was in operation at this time a line of small steamers running between Springfield and Hartford,—first started by Thomas Blanchard, of Springfield. The first was the "Springfield," a side-wheel steamer; then the "Vermont," a stern-wheeler, built by Blanchard; then the "Massachusetts," "Agawam," and the "Phoenix." The captains of the boats were Peck, Mosely and Hoyt. Captain Peck was not exactly the same on all occasions,—at times pleasant, bland and courteous to his passengers, then again crusty and sarcastic. Captain Mosely was jovial, social and gentlemanly, and the best tenor singer then in the whole valley. Captain Hoyt was the prince of story-tellers, and always drew a crowd. Mr. Adin Allen was the pilot, and stood at his post through wind and calm, storm and shine.

The Connecticut river has borne on its bosom so many pilgrims, during the earliest settlements of this country, in search of a permanent home, from Windsor, Hebron and other towns in the state of Connecticut, to the upper counties in Vermont and New Hampshire, and has become so incorporated and interwoven into our history and progress, that any incident in which it bears a prominent part, should not be passed over unnoticed in our historical researches. In the spirit of this sentiment, therefore, I claim for it the honor of bearing upon its waters the first steamboat ever built in America. The justice of this claim is established by the following article, which was written by Rev. Cyrus Mann, after careful investigation of the subject, and was printed in the Boston Recorder in 1858.

"Who was the original inventor of the steamboat? The credit of the original invention of the steamboat is commonly awarded to Robert Fulton; but it is believed that it belongs

primarily and chiefly to a far more obscure individual. So far as is known, the first steamboat ever seen on the waters of America, was invented by Captain Samuel Morey of Orford, N. H. The astonishing sight of this man ascending the Connecticut river between that place and Fairlee, in a little boat just large enough to contain himself and the rude machinery connected with the steam-boiler, and a handful of wood for a fire, was witnessed by the writer in his boyhood, and by others who yet survive. This was as early as 1793, or earlier, and before Fulton's name had been mentioned in connection with steam navigation. Morey had his mind set upon the steamboat, and had actually brought it into operation, although in a rude and imperfect state at that period. He had corresponded with Professor Silliman of New Haven, and been encouraged by that distinguished patron of the arts and sciences. Many of the writings of this correspondence are still extant. Soon after a few successful trips in his boat on the river, Morey went with the model of it to New York, where he had frequent interviews with Messrs. Fulton and Livingston, to whom he exhibited and explained his invention. They advised to have the engine in the side or center of the boat, instead of the bow or forepart, to which it had been assigned by Morey. That they were highly pleased with what he exhibited, is manifest from the offer made of \$100,000, if he would return home and make the alteration suggested, so as to operate favorably. They treated him with great respect and attention. Taking a friendly leave, he returned to his distant residence to make the alteration.

“Having completed the work at considerable expense of time and study, and with the help of his brother, Maj. Israel Morey, who aided in making the machinery, he repaired to New York expecting the same cordiality which he had before experienced. But to his surprise he was treated with great coldness and neglect, and no further intercourse with him was desired. The secret of his invention had been fully acquired, and from subsequent developments it appeared that Fulton, in the interval of Morey's absence, had planned and formed a boat according to the model shown him, and he now desired no further communi-

cation with the originator. He even went to Orford during the period in which the alteration was being made, to examine its progress and the prospect of success.

"In 1798, several years after Morey's boat had ascended the Connecticut river, the Legislature of New York passed an act investing Mr. Livingstone with the exclusive right and privilege of navigating all kinds of boats which might be propelled by the force of fire or steam, on all the waters within the territory or jurisdiction of the State of New York.

"Subsequently Mr. Livingstone entered into a contract with Fulton, by which, among other things, it was agreed that a patent should be taken in the United States in Fulton's name. In 1802 or 1803, Fulton came forward with an "experimental boat" for which he obtained a patent with the usual exclusive privileges. Thus it appears that there was ample time after his interviews with Morey for him to complete his schemes previous to their consummation. He now claimed to be the inventor of the steamboat. The patent could not be obtained without Mr. Fulton's taking an oath that the improvement was wholly his.

"Does not this look like great unfairness towards Mr. Morey? Does it not almost irresistibly convey the idea that the patentee surreptitiously seized upon the invention and turned it to his own account, taking advantage of the quiet disposition and retired position of the real inventor? In this light, Morey, ever after, to the day of his death, viewed the whole transaction. Living witnesses testify that he repeatedly complained of Fulton for superseding him in obtaining a patent, and stealing the honor and emolument of the invention. A gentleman of unimpeachable veracity, who was with Morey some of the last years and days of his life, asserts that he most bitterly criminated Fulton for his ill-treatment in secretly depriving him of his sacred rights and privileges. Why should the dying man have done this, and persisted in it amidst the solemnities of his situation, and the approaching realities of eternity, unless he knew that the truth was on his side? He was a man of veracity, in whom his friends and acquaintances had entire confidence."

Very much of interesting detail of the early navigation of our

river has passed out of remembrance of those living at the present time. Had such a society as this been formed one hundred or fifty years ago, we should doubtless have secured this detail, perfectly familiar to the men of that day, but now beyond our reach. Hence I regard the present work of this society, in resuscitating whatever incidents we can of our early history, by interviewing the aged who are yet left to us, and by examination of records, and memoranda wherever they may be found, as worthy the special attention of us all.

I wrote out, in 1872, the more modern events, incidents and anecdotes of this river navigation in some sketches which were published, and which can be referred to if desirable.

The following resolutions, offered by MR. WILLIAM L. SMITH, were adopted :

Resolved, That the Society deeply mourns the death of Hon. Samuel T. Spaulding, who was one of its vice-presidents and one of its most valued members.

Resolved, That in thus expressing our regret we but pay a just tribute to his scholarly and professional attainments, his judicial abilities and important public services, and to the manliness and purity of a character that abundantly fulfilled its promise of an honorable and useful life.

REV. MR. HARDING offered the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That this Society hereby records, in behalf of its original members, its deep sense of the irreparable loss sustained in the recent death of one of its directors, Mr. Samuel Bowles, a man of rare public spirit, one of our most distinguished fellow-citizens, thoroughly identified with our local history, a large part of which he was, during the eventful quarter of a century in which, through the Springfield Republican, the conspicuous monument of his pre-eminent ability, industry and sagacity, he represented and honored us, extended his influence as a salutary power throughout the nation, and at the same time lent his kindly enthusiasm, his keen insight, and his practical wisdom to the furtherance of every undertaking that has concerned our social and public interests. He has photographed upon the pages of his journal our daily history as belonging to his own times, while gathering up, with that historical spirit which distinguishes the true journalist, the many valuable records of our past, and so preserving them for future use. We greatly miss the inspiration of his thoughtful eye, his genial presence, and his helpful counsels, and we deeply lament his removal at this early period of our organization, when we peculiarly need a hand so strong, a sympathy so ready, and a spirit so willing and noble as was his.

OCTOBER 6, 1878.—QUARTERLY MEETING.

REV. J. W. HARDING read an interesting series of extracts from the journal of the late Rev. Stephen Williams, relating to events in the years 1775 and 1776.

REV. M. C. STEBBINS presented a biographical sketch of the late William Russell.

The CLERK reported that donations of papers and books had been received from Edward Osgood and A. T. Folsom.

JANUARY 6, 1879.—QUARTERLY MEETING.

WILLIAM L. SMITH, A. L. SOULE and WILLIAM RICE were appointed a committee to consider and report on a revision of the by-laws.

The following paper was read by the PRESIDENT :

THE OLD PYNCHON FORT AND ITS BUILDERS.

There has never existed in Springfield, perhaps never in Western Massachusetts, a building that has attached to itself so much historic interest as the "Old Fort," so called, the long-time mansion house of the Pynchon family. It stood on the west side of Main street, on the spacious lot originally assigned to William Pynchon, the founder and first settler of Springfield. The original lot had a frontage of thirty rods on the street. This house stood back from the street sixty or seventy feet, and its southerly wall coincided very nearly with the northerly line of the present Fort street. Fifty years ago its antiquated appearance and unique architecture marked it as a relic of the early days of the town. The oldest inhabitant then here could not remember a time when it was not regarded as a very old building. There were men then living, who could from personal knowledge, remember when every other edifice in this town, built of brick, was erected, and that too without the memory going back many years. But the age of the "Old Fort" was only a matter of

history or tradition. It was understood that it was built by one of the Pynchons, and had always been in that family. It was called the "Old Fort," partly, perhaps, from its peculiar style of architecture, but more from the fact that tradition and record both concur in identifying it as one of the three fortified houses that were standing at the time this town was assaulted and burned by the Indians in 1675. Both before and after that disaster, it is certain that it was garrisoned by soldiers. Whether any were in it on that fatal day is not known. Most of those who had been stationed here were absent on an expedition against the Indians. In the absence of the military, the alarmed inhabitants of the town sought a refuge in the strong houses which had been garrisoned by the soldiers. When the work of destruction was over, and the soldiers returned from their expedition, they re-occupied this house, and probably the other strong houses most capable of defence. There is a tradition that there was at one time a log wall, or stockade fence which enclosed the grounds immediately about the fort. As such methods of defence were not uncommon, it is quite probable that this tradition has a basis in fact. I am not aware of any particular evidence on the subject. There has never been room for any serious doubt as to which of the Pynchons built the "Old Fort." It is certain that it was not erected by William Pynchon, the founder of Springfield. He is known to have left this country and returned to England several years before this house was built. The evidence is equally conclusive that his son, John Pynchon, the Major Pynchon of the Indian wars, was the builder, and although there has been some expression of uncertainty as to the date of the erection, it is certain that 1660 was the year.

It is not, perhaps, generally known that there is still in existence a building older than the fort, which stood upon the Pynchon lot, and had been occupied as a dwelling-house before the fort was erected. When John Pynchon built the fort, he called this building his "*old* house" and the fort his "*new* house." It was a smaller wooden structure, and was left standing when the new house was built. The new house was built of

brick with stone underpinning, in front of the old house and connected with it so far as to form one house, the old house serving as an appendage to the new. It is not improbable that the older house was that in which William Pynchon, the father, lived from 1636 to 1652. When the brick house was taken down in 1831, this wooden building was removed to Cross street, and there altered, enlarged, and fitted up for a dwelling-house. It stands there now on the south side of the street, just at the foot of the hill, the building nearest to Maple street. It had been often repaired and had undergone some changes before its removal, and in its present condition has but little outward likeness to the original structure. But in some of its parts it is probably the oldest building in this city.

I am not aware that any history of the building of the old brick fort has ever been written. I have never met with any. Fifty years ago, while it was standing, and occupied as a dwelling-house, hardly anything was said about the particulars of its origin. With two or three rare exceptions, there was then but little spirit of antiquarian research in Springfield, less, perhaps, than at the present time, and the details of the construction of the old Pynchon house were suffered to remain in obscurity. It was known that only one other brick building had been in existence here earlier than the year 1800. That stood on the site of the present Institution for Savings, and was comparatively new. The old fort was the only brick building having any appearance of antiquity. It dated back more than one hundred and sixty years, to the last half of the seventeenth century. Occasionally, in view of these facts, some one would be stimulated to express his wonder where the bricks of the old fort could have come from. The answer perchance would be, "Pynchon probably imported them from England or Holland," and with that suggestion the curiosity of the inquirer would be satisfied. I propose, in this paper, to give such details in regard to the building of the old fort as I have been able to collect, that something definite may be preserved and known about that famous edifice. It can hardly be expected that the facts will have any considerable interest, except for those persons who

possess a taste for antiquarian research, and desire to preserve and perpetuate the memory of past events in our local history. These details of the building of this ancient house are not in any sense conjectural. They are founded entirely upon authentic and indisputable evidence, nothing less than the testimony of John Pynchon himself, contained in various memoranda under his own hand.

And first, in regard to the bricks, of which the walls of the "Old Fort" were constructed. Is it true that Pynchon imported them from Europe, as has often been conjectured? If not, when, where and by whom were they made? To these questions the answer is: They were *not* imported from Europe. They were made in the year 1659, at Northampton, which had then been settled about seven years, and made by one Francis Hacklinton, who then resided there. By the contract which Pynchon made with Hacklinton, the bricks were to be delivered to Pynchon at Northampton. This contract was entered upon Pynchon's account-book, and signed by Hacklinton. It bears date, January 12, 1658. This is according to the old style of reckoning time then in use, by which the year began on the 22nd of March. By the calendar which has been in use ever since 1752, this date would now be called 1659. The contract is in these words:

"JANUARY 12, 1658.

"Agreed with Frances Hacklinton To make & dlr me at Northampton forty thousand of good well burnt & full sized Brick at least two-thirds to be good weather bricks this to be done & performed & y^e bricks dled at least fifteen thousand of y^m by y^e middle of Agust & y^e rest to be all ready ag^t next Oct^r for wch sd forty thousand of bricks he is to have y^e sum of Thirty-five pounds to be p'd him according as he shall Dlr any bricks & one ell of red shag [beys] already dlrd & heretoe y^e sd Frances sets his hand

"FRANCIS
HACKLINTON

"Witness
heretoe
JOSEPH PARSONS."

A supplementary contract was made with Hacklinton, December 2, 1659, for 10,000 more bricks, making 50,000 in all. Not-

withstanding these contracts called for full-sized bricks, those actually used in the house were smaller than those now in common use. Hacklinton spent a good deal of time in Springfield while he was engaged in performing his brick contracts, but never became a permanent resident. While here he appears to have carried on a flirtation with one Hester Bliss, a young woman whom Mr. Pynchon had brought over from England to be a servant in his family. This led to some gossip among the good women of the place, in the course of which some words were uttered by Mary Ely, the young wife of Samuel Ely, which Hacklinton thought reflected unfavorably upon his character, and so, as many other unwise persons have done since, he commenced an action of slander, suing Goodwife Ely for defamation of his character, and claimed that he had sustained damages to the amount of forty shillings. This case was tried in July, 1660, before Mr. Pynchon and Dea. Samuel Chapin, the magistrates, who, after hearing the testimony, which, as the record has it, they considered "of but little weight," adjudged it no slander—and the plaintiff had to pay the costs. Mr. Savage, in his Genealogical Dictionary, conjectures that Hacklinton afterward removed to Hartford and married a woman living there.

The underpinning of the Old Fort was of the red stone, such as is now quarried in Longmeadow, and has been extensively used in this city for many years for building purposes. Among the many localities in this vicinity where this stone is found, it is not possible now to designate the particular one that furnished the stone for the Pynchon mansion. Thomas Bascomb of Windsor, and his son, appear to have been employed by Mr. Pynchon to hew the stone used in the construction of the building, and to lay the hearths and the kitchen floor. The kitchen floor may have been of brick or stone, as the Bascombs were evidently stone and brick masons. They came from Windsor to do this work, and were allowed for it seventeen pounds and fifteen shillings, besides seven shillings and sixpence extra for going and coming. Bascomb afterwards removed to Northampton and died there. The principal work in building the house was done by Edward Griswold of Windsor. He laid the

brick and stone of that famous edifice. And for this work Pynchon allowed him in account the sum of forty pounds. This, in those times, was undoubtedly a fair compensation. Griswold was an early settler at Windsor, and was a person of some consequence in that town, having represented it several years in the Connecticut Legislature. He was born in the year 1607, in the town of Kenilworth, England, since made classic by the Waverly novel of that name. The timber and boards for the house undoubtedly came from Pynchon's own wood lots in this vicinity, of which he was a large owner, or from the common land owned by the town. Rowland Thomas was one of the men who cut down the trees from which timber and boards were made. He was a settler here as early as 1648, and is the man to whom tradition assigns the honor of giving his name to Mount Tom. Samuel Buell and Timothy Trawle (Thrall?) of Windsor, were the men who contracted to hew the timber. For this they were to be paid three shillings and eight pence per hundred feet, and the whole job amounted to two pounds and fourteen shillings. The lumber was sawed out at Pynchon's own saw mill, by John Lumbard and others. Lumbard was an early settler in Springfield, having come here about the year 1646. He lived at quite the southerly part of the Main street, and was the ancestor of the very respectable families of that name, some members of which still reside here. John Matthews and Thomas Miller had each contracted in December, 1659, to make shingles for the house. As Pynchon's memorandum states it, Matthews agreed to furnish 12 M. of "good sound shingle, 18 inches long, to be good substantial shingle, for breadth such as are in my cider mill house, the sap being off, & thickness to be one inch at the thick end, all to be good shingle and well hewn workman-like & fit to lay," "to be dld at my house by May-day next for wch twelve thousand he is to be allowed and p^d y^e sum of Eleven Pounds." Matthews afterwards complained that this sum was not enough, and Pynchon allowed him seven shillings a thousand more. Matthews was by trade a cooper, and was in many ways a useful citizen when not under the power of strong drink. As early as 1646, he was employed by the Plantation

(as the town was then called) to beat the drum during one year up and down the town street, to call the people to meetings, beginning the drumming half an hour before the meeting time, at ten o'clock in the forenoon on lecture days, and at nine o'clock on the Lord's days. For this service every family in town was to pay him 4d. in wampum, or a peck of Indian corn. The great difficulty with him was that he was too fond of his cups, and this occasioned him serious trouble. He was frequently before Pynchon and his associate magistrates charged with this besetting sin. Thus in Pynchon's record there is this entry: "January 22, 1660—By Mr. Holyoke, Mr. Chapin and John Pynchon. John Matthews being drunken and bereaved of his understanding, we appeared both in his speech and behavior he was according to Law fined Ten shillings to y^e county." Then follows this memorandum: "This miscarriage of his was at Sam. Terry's wedding." Thomas Miller agreed to deliver Pynchon eight thousand shingles by the end of March, 1660, for which Pynchon agreed to allow him twenty shillings per thousand. These were to be similar in quality and dimensions to those specified in Matthews's contract. Miller and Matthews were both sufferers by the Indian raid in 1675, when the town was burned. Miller was shot dead by the savages at the very beginning of the onslaught; and Pentecost Matthews, the wife of John Matthews, was killed in the course of the same day. She appears to have been employed by Pynchon to teach some of the children of his brother Holyoke, as he credits her in his ledger in November, 1659—"By schooling of Elizur 2 years & Hannah till this Nov., 1659, in all 35 shillings."

Samuel Grant of Windsor was the person employed by Pynchon to shingle the house, and to do some other work. And it is worthy of notice how much Windsor had to do with the building of the "Old Fort." It was then the nearest town to Springfield in a southerly direction. It was one year older than this town, and at that time a place of considerable importance. Pynchon had a large trade with the people of Windsor, and there were many intimate relations between the two towns. And when, during Philip's War, the Indians formed a design to

surprise and burn Springfield, and massacre its inhabitants, it was at Windsor that the plot was discovered, and from that place a messenger came at midnight to give our people the alarm, and put them on their guard. Pynchon entered upon his account-book a memorandum of this contract with Samuel Grant, which is very full and particular. It furnishes evidence as to the size of the building on the ground, and shows that, instead of being nearly square, as represented in some pictures of it that are in existence, taken since it was demolished, it was twice as long as it was wide, being forty-two feet long and twenty-one feet wide or deep. It also establishes the fact of the existence of that wooden structure which Pynchon called his "old house," and which became connected with the new brick edifice, and so was a part of the "Old Fort." This contract bears date March 13, 1659, old style, 1660 in the new style. It is in the ancient method of spelling, and reads as follows:

"March 13, 1659. Agreed wth Sam Grant to shingle my new house of 42 foote long & 21 wide wth foote & halfe shingle & to lay all Boards on w^{ch} y^e shingle are to be laid & to lay y^e planks for gutters & to make all y^e gutters both for y^e Porch & those joining to y^e old house & to lay all y^e bords & shingles on y^e Porch & leantoe also as well as those on y^e house & to Joine all [close] & fully & sufficiently well to y^e old house & also to make & [shingle] a window over y^e old house & also a window over y^e leantoe w^{ch} is to give light to y^e staire case; he is to doe all y^e work of all gutters Planks & shingle, y^t is to say y^e laying of all & He is to goe about it as soone as y^e roofe is ready or a p^t ready for him to begin and & to finish it wth what speed he can y^t it be all done before winter for w^{ch} I am to allow him Nine Pound Ten shillings. He [agrees] to make all y^e rafter feete & to scollope 2 layings of y^e shingle on y^e foreside & also 2 courses at each end of y^e house & porch & I am to allow him y^e ten shillings so y^t he have Ten pounds in all & to make good deep eves & over y^e shingle at y^e ends of y^e hosue a good way."

In this connection, I am happy in being able to give a description of the "Old Fort," as it is remembered by our worthy friend, Dr. Joseph C. Pynchon, who was born and passed his early youth in it, and can tell as much about its interior arrangements as any person now living. He says:

"The main house was of brick, with very solid walls. I should judge they were two feet or more in thickness in the first story, being thick enough

to afford seats at all the windows in the front and side rooms of the lower story, within the walls, the width or depth of the seats being at least eighteen inches. The house, I judge, was about forty feet in length and twenty feet in width, fronting towards Main street. The roof of the house sloped towards Main street. The height of the house was twenty-two feet from the ground to the eaves, and the same number of feet perpendicular from the eaves to the ridge board, making a roof so steep that no one could climb up it without a ladder. There were two large front rooms or parlors on the ground floor, and a small room taken out of the north room for a store room, which was dark, and a corner cupboard with glass front in the south parlor, where the silver and crockery were kept. Between these rooms, from east to west, ran the hall, about eight feet wide, to the wooden building in the rear, rising one step to enter the wooden building. From the kitchen in the wooden building, it was necessary to descend one step to get into the parlors. There were but two chambers over these parlors,—a north and south chamber, separated from each other by a six feet passage way leading into the garret, which, from floor to ridge, measured twenty-two feet. The garret was a dark room, only one small window in each gable to give it light. There were no closets in the chambers. All approach to them was from the hall or from the wood part in the rear. The wood part was, say twenty-five feet square, occupied latterly as a kitchen. The rooms were a kitchen, pantry and bed-room leading from the kitchen. This wooden part was brown, unpainted, one and one-half stories high, without chambers, but a dark attic, which in later years was used only as a store-room. The brick of the main house were of very small size, not more than two-thirds the size of ordinary brick. The chimneys were in two stacks at the north and south ends, and three chimneys or flues in each stack protruded from the top of the roof, the chimneys or flues being united at the corners, making them appear each as three touching each other by a line."

Dr. Pynchon continues: "I have no means of judging the thickness of the walls in the second story of the house, only remembering that in the north wall of the house there was a crack, which had opened more than an inch, said crack extending from the top of the wall to within two feet of the ground. Having often looked through this crack from the room to the weather outside, I can judge from recollection now that the wall was more than a foot in thickness. And this being the room I slept in when a boy, I remember distinctly rising in the morning after a snow-storm, to find quite a snow-drift in my room. Tradition said this crack was made by an earthquake. It was only in the second or upper story that the crack showed its widest opening. The house was set at something of an angle from Main street. There was a water table of red sandstone, extending on three sides of the brick house, about two feet from the ground. This was hewn and rounded, projecting from the brick and designed for ornamentation. The roof of the house was supported by a framework of solid oak timber, I should judge as much as eight by ten inches, resting on very solid plates of oak on the brick walls, which were dovetailed at each corner. All the timbers were solid, and 'heavy enough,' as an old

Englishman said, who visited the house to examine it more than a half century ago, 'for a seventy-four gun ship.' The porch extending from the front entrance toward Main street, was pulled away before I was born, but in my recollection, lying in the back yard, were two very massive stones, I should judge five feet by ten or twelve feet surface, and one foot thick, one side arched out and evidently made for its ends to stand on some solid foundation. These stones were said to have formed the top of the front and rear entrance to this porch."

As thus described by one of its last occupants, such was the Old Fort in the days of his boyhood. Such substantially it was when first occupied by its builder. It had in its last days lost the freshness of its original ornamentation. But the general aspect both of the exterior and the interior had undergone no essential change, except the wear of almost two centuries. Here were the same massive walls, the same steep roof, and sharp high ridge, the same angular chimneys that gave it in contrast with all the other buildings of the town so much the appearance of a baronial castle, and once attracted to it the admiring gaze of both the English and the Indian. Here were the ruins of that arched stone portal, through which the dignitaries of the plantation passed to transact their official business with their chief. Here was the same square parlor in which the three commissioners, John Pynchon as chief, and Capt. Elizur Holyoke and Dea. Samuel Chapin as associates, held their court in the presence of their admiring townsmen. In the chamber over the porch, tradition says, the records of town and county were for a time kept. Into all the rooms and chambers of the house rushed men, women and children at midnight in October, 1675, for refuge from the merciless savages, crowding the house to its utmost capacity. With them came Rev. Mr. Glover, the minister of the town, transferring his valuable library from his own house, but, unfortunately, concluding afterwards that the alarm was a false one, he returned it to his own house where it was consumed with the house.

In this "Old Fort" its builder, John Pynchon, styled in the town and county court records "the worshipful Major," lived until 1703, the leading man in Western Massachusetts, and here he died. After him, his descendants of the name of Pynchon

successively "held the fort" until the year 1831, when it was taken down to give room for a more modern edifice.

The destruction of the brick house was complete. The débris is said to have been spread upon the town roads, and put to other similar uses, and not a solitary brick of the famous "Old Fort" is known to be now in existence.

MR. EVERETT A. THOMPSON read the following paper:

COUNT RUMFORD AND HIS EARLY LIFE.

One of the most marked characteristics of the eighteenth century, other than the advance of popular rights and freedom, was its intensely practical nature. Our own country, brought into independent being during this century, has ever had, and still possesses, this devotion to the useful. *Cui bono?* is the touch-stone to which the Yankee has ever applied every new idea, or invention, as though by instinct. Without discussing the cause of this fact, we assert that no nation in the same half century ever presented two more shining examples of this crystallization of the practical element with which the age was saturated, than has our old Bay State in the persons of Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Thompson, better known as Count Rumford, the subject of our present sketch. Born in homes only twelve miles apart, of similar station in life, very striking analogies might be traced in their subsequent career, did time permit. This difference, however, remains to be noted. In this country the scientific fame of Franklin, the elder of the two, has been by far the greater. In Europe the reverse has been true from the very first. Within the last decade, however, America has begun to accept Europe's verdict. She has found that a son of our own rearing, has won great and growing renown for signal successes in a long catalogue of achievements. While we are justly proud of Franklin's record as a statesman and diplomatist, in scientific matters he must yield the palm to Rumford. The active and versatile mind of the latter was occupied much, to be sure, with affairs of statesmanship and diplomacy, as well as

with philanthropic efforts to imbue hordes of degraded beggars with Yankee enterprise and thrift. In scientific affairs, however, he ran through a whole gamut of subjects, from cannon-boring to coffee-making, from gunpowder's composition and explosive force to improvements in kitchen utensils. At one time occupied with improved methods of constructing chimneys and fire-places—at another, investigations concerning the movements of glaciers, the harmony of colors and chemical powers of light, interested him. Gastronomy and the laws of heat, physics and physis, naval architecture and charcoal-making—nothing seemed able to escape the argus-eyed attention of our great scientist.* Still, notwithstanding his great ability, and his great renown in Europe, America and Americans have evinced a surprising ignorance of his career, and insensibility to the many favors our country has received from his hands. Nothing is more common than for people, even from New England, to record their intense amazement upon beholding statues erected in honor of a Massachusetts man in the heart of Germany. Many travelers have been obliged to admit, that previous to their European trip they had been almost unconscious of his existence. Another class of our citizens have a dim idea that Rumford was an American by birth, but, false to his native land in every particular, was worthy only of contempt and scorn. This wholly unjust view of the man, is doubtless a "survival"—*not* of the "*fittest*," but of the *worst* passions of the Revolutionary period. Men who have held these opinions will do well to remember, that the same Maj. Ben. Thompson, who was so fiercely denounced at the outbreak of the Revolution as a tory by a small clique of their ancestors, actuated by personal jealousy, not many years after, during the presidency of John Adams, was cordially invited to return to this country, and assume complete charge, for the government, of the establishment of West Point Military Academy. Rumford cordially received this advance on the part of his native land, and had not death prevented, would probably have accepted the offer. By the terms of his will, his military

* Under Rumford's direction a dinner for one thousand persons was cooked at a cost for fuel of four and a half pence.

plans and papers were all presented to West Point. During almost his whole career in Europe he was in constant correspondence with leading men in this country, and always showed, by word and deed, the warmest interest in the welfare of his native land. As a proof of this we are only to observe the disposition of his large property. For Harvard college, in return for the privilege, when a lad, of attending a few lectures, he established a professorship in the scientific department. In Concord, N. H., where he spent his early manhood days, much of his property, after the death of Sarah, his only daughter, was spent in establishing charitable and educational institutions. Nor did his love for his native land stop here. To Massachusetts and to America he gave the noble American Academy of Arts and Sciences, whose work has been constantly, in accordance with his wishes, to encourage scientific research throughout the continent. To the American Academy we owe the most complete and pleasing edition of Rumford's *Life and Essays*—five large and expensive octavo volumes. These books, together with the account of his life, in Sewall's *History of Woburn*, form the most complete sources of information in regard to the Count's earlier career. His brilliant life in Europe has attracted much attention, and famous men like Pictet, Young, Banks, Cuvier and many others, have contributed to immortalize his name, not as a soldier and scientist alone, but as a most successful philanthropist and social reformer. The writer firmly believes that if Americans were more fully informed in regard to Rumford's early life, they could not fail to appreciate and admire his later career, and would be prompt to claim him as one of Massachusetts' noblest sons.

Rumford's grandparents, on his father's side, traced their descent three generations back to James Thompson and Edward Convers, who were members of that band of English emigrants, who, under Governor Winthrop's leadership, formed the Massachusetts Bay Colony. This colony rapidly spread from Boston and Charlestown, over the territory now occupied by a number of suburban towns, as Cambridge, Medford, Winchester, Wilmington, Woburn, and several other places. Woburn was orig-

inally a grant of land to Charlestown, and was called "Charlestown Village." In 1642, since it had so many inhabitants, and, a more cogent reason still—a church, with a settled pastor, Rev. Thomas Carter, within its precincts, it was incorporated under the name of "Woburne." This name was derived from Woburn in Bedfordshire, England, the seat of the noble family of the Russells, and an ancient abbey founded A. D., 1145. By the date of its incorporation, Woburn was the twentieth town in the Massachusetts Bay colony, and the twenty-ninth of the three hundred and thirty-one cities and towns which constituted the state of Massachusetts, in 1855. In the strong and substantial gambrel-roofed farm-house, in the north village of Woburn, now the property of the Rumford Historical Association,* but then the homestead of his grandfather, Captain Ebenezer Thompson—Rumford was born, March 26, 1753. When the child was only twenty months old, his father, Benjamin Thompson, Sen., died at the age of twenty-six. His mother, Ruth Simonds, the daughter of Lieut. James Simonds, a prominent officer in the "French and Indian" war, which was in progress at this time, is thus left with her babe, dependent upon the bounty of her boy's grandparents. They seem to have treated her with great kindness, but her marriage to a neighbor, Josiah Pierce, Jr., when her son was about three years old, soon takes both mother and child to a new home. The issue of this second marriage was four children. The eldest, Josiah Pierce, 3rd., was about four years younger than Benjamin Thompson, her first-born, and grew up as a playmate with him. Although *both* the Thompson and Simonds families seem to have had numerous worthy and able citizens, representing them in the early history of the town of Woburn, it has been stated that great men oftener inherit genius from their mothers than from their fathers, and that this ability frequently reappears in a later generation. Perhaps the

*The Rumford Historical Association was incorporated in 1877, by a number of gentlemen in Woburn and many other towns and cities of our country. The object of the Society, was to buy and keep in a state of repair, the house in which Rumford was born, to secure and preserve as many personal relics of the man as possible, to collect antique relics of various kinds, illustrative of his time and the early history of the town.

marked ability which one of the officers of the Rumford Historical Association, Josiah Pierce of London, England, the third in descent from Benjamin Thompson's half brother Josiah, is an instance in point. Knight-hood of the order of St. Anne has been conferred upon Mr. Pierce by the present Czar, for the ability he has displayed in introducing railroads into Russia, and the practical skill he has shown, as a civil engineer, in solving grave problems connected with their construction.

Benjamin attended the schools of his native town, and was fortunate in receiving instruction from Master John Fowle, a graduate of Harvard College in 1747. Master Fowle seems to have been a pedagogue of great repute in the annals of the time, and aged men's memories in Woburn used to fairly bristle with stories of his iron will, his fearful severity in discipline and remarkable erudition. That Benjamin was well taught by some one is very evident. Childish productions of his, written when not more than thirteen years old, are almost faultless in spelling, chirography and grammatical construction. His later style, in terseness, exactness and simplicity, is declared to be not one whit inferior to that of Franklin.

The father of one of his companions, Rev. John Barnard, of Salem, noticing the fondness of the boy for study, especially in mathematics, gave him instruction in algebra, geometry, astronomy, and even the higher mathematics. Rumford speaks of him in terms of great respect and admiration. That he did honor to his teacher is very evident, for he himself notes that before he was fourteen years of age, he was able without the aid or even knowledge of his mentor, to calculate, and rightly trace the elements of a solar eclipse. Tutor and pupil observed it together, and to the intense delight of the latter, and the amazement and joy of the former, the boy's computation proved correct within four seconds. Under Mr. Barnard, Benjamin probably also studied the rudiments of Latin. Remarkable as the boy's ability in study seemed to be, his dislike for the prosaic pursuits of a New England farmer became so evident, that his guardians in despair apprenticed him, October 14, 1766, to Mr. John Appleton, of Salem, an importer of English goods,

whose stock in trade also embraced the usual variety of a country store. Here, although bills drawn up and receipted in elegant style by Benjamin, are still in existence, it is doubtful if the somewhat erudite store-boy gave his entire attention to trade. That very equivocal, undignified and unpuritanical musical instrument called a fiddle, was the object of his dearest love. Keeping this in concealment under the counter, it only needed Mr. Appleton's absence to secure a speedy reunion between the enamored parties. Besides this very marked taste for music, which did not, however, greatly commend him to the more staid citizens of Salem, he excelled in the sister art of drawing. Numerous capital sketches, both grave and gay, attest his skill. Perhaps this accomplishment also was not viewed by his elders with entire complacency, for his facile pen was frequently busied over caricatures of the broadest type. It is perfectly evident, however, that the lad was consumed by a thirst for knowledge, and that he cared comparatively little for trade. As the store of his employer presented the almost boundless variety of a country merchant's stock in trade, we can readily imagine that the apprentice boy, with his well-known mathematical and mechanical turn, added to an ability to produce the most noisome odors, grewsome sights, and startling explosions from the drugs for sale in the store, held his head very high among his mates. Chemistry, in particular, became a perfect passion with the boy at this time, as in after life. He also became wonderfully interested in that *fata Morgana* of American inventors, the machine for perpetual motion. Although his ambitious attempt to evolve something out of nothing, shared the usual fate of such marvels, we find his enthusiasm impelling him to walk from Salem to Woburn, some fifteen miles, with his cumbrous and complicated pet in his arms, that he may exhibit its powers and paces to a friend. This friend, Loammi Baldwin, although several years his senior, was his life-long correspondent. Baldwin afterwards became one of the most distinguished citizens of Eastern Massachusetts, a colonel in the army, and a man noted far and wide for the great abilities as civil engineers, which he and several distinguished sons have displayed over a long series of years. One

of these sons, George *Rumford* Baldwin, is still the occupant of the fine old Baldwin mansion in North Woburn, and although now far advanced in life, has furnished much valuable information concerning the distinguished man whose name he bears. Quite a series of letters written by young Thompson, when a boy of only thirteen or fourteen, to his friend Baldwin, have been preserved. Here are samples of this correspondence written when Thompson was in a state of great suffering. He had met with the usual sequel of amateur chemical experiments, as many of us can doubtless testify in person. While grinding powder and various chemicals in a mortar, in order to prepare fire-works with which to lend emphasis and honor to the wide spread rejoicing consequent on the repeal of the stamp act, they exploded with great violence, filling face, neck and hands with powder grains, and he barely escaped death.

“WOBURN, August 14, 1769.

“MR. LOAMMI BALDWIN:

“*Sir*,—Please to give the Direction of the Rays of Light from a Luminous Body to an Opaque, and the Reflection from the Opaque Body to another equally Dense and Opaque.

“N. B.—From the Sun to the Earth, Reflected to the Moon at an angle of forty degrees.

Yours, etc.,

“B. T.”

Here is a much more comprehensive and less modest request, dated nearly as in the first: “Please to give the Nature, Essence, Beginning of Existence and Rise of the Wind in General, with the whole Theory thereof, so as to be able to answer all Questions relative thereto. Yours, Benj. Thompson.” The replies that Baldwin made to some of these letters do credit to both his head and heart. When Thompson was sixteen, he was sent to Boston, where he entered the store of Mr. Hopestill Capen, a dry-goods dealer, as a sort of apprentice-clerk. We soon find him recording the fact that he is in eager attendance upon an evening school, in order to learn the French language. The terms of tuition are carefully entered by him in a memorandum book, with his usual exactness, and we shortly find him, as is usually the case, using his new acquisition in his correspondence.

It is quite evident from his diaries and letters that, at this time, he fully shares in the popular irritation against the British soldiers quartered in Boston. One of his biographers states that, sword in hand, he was prominent in that attack upon the red coats which resulted in the Boston massacre, March 5th, 1770.

He soon after went back to Woburn, where he begins the study of medicine under Dr. Hay, of that town. The curious list of articles with which he pays his tuition bills to that disciple of Esculapius, would amaze the practitioner of the present day. Numerous cords of wood which he has cut and split with his own hands, seem to form the most prominent item in his financial assets. Odd bits of finery, drugs, groceries, leather, metals, timber, etc., etc., fill up the strange list of credits.

Having thus followed our embryo Yankee sage into so many channels of industry, we can be sure, of course, that he entered the precincts at least of one other profession, which, although one of the noblest known to man, has ever been in this country a sort of stepping-stone to something presumed to be higher, as well as decidedly more lucrative. Young Thompson taught winter schools, in the district of Woburn, known at that time as Goshen, now the town of Wilmington, and in the town of Bradford, on the Merrimac.

Stories, years ago, might be collected from old people, of those places, illustrating the rule of "Master Thompson." It seems to be highly probable that his remarkable skill in, and fondness for, startling and curious philosophical and chemical lore, together with his magnificent physical development, which made remarkable athletic feats of various sorts mere pastime to him, rendered him quite popular among the more progressive and erratic members of his educational diocese.

That he, however, was working very hard even at this time, over his professional studies, is abundantly attested by his numerous entries in his note-books. He divided the hours of the day with such Spartan-like rigor, giving to study and self-improvement so large a share of his time, that we are quite prepared to hear of his subsequent illness of five weeks.

In 1771, by the assistance of his friend Baldwin, Thompson

succeeded in gaining an eagerly coveted boon. Through the intercession of a friend, the two young men are allowed to attend the scientific lectures at Harvard college. Back and forth they trudged, morning and night, over the ten miles walk between their homes and the college. With wonderful versatility, they succeed in reproducing in a rude way, the scientific experiments which Professor Winthrop and others had made in their presence. The amazing list of cheap make-shifts which they employ with great success, in lieu of costly apparatus, reflects lasting honor upon their ingenuity. It is most pleasing to note in this connection, the princely munificence with which Thompson, in his later life, repaid the kindness of his would-be alma mater.

But this educational good fortune is too great to last long. He was soon compelled to bestir himself afresh to secure a bare living. His recent success as a teacher in Bradford was now probably the occasion of his receiving a call from a larger town situate farther up the Merrimac river, viz., Rumford, now Concord, the capital of New Hampshire. This move of his, in his nineteenth year, was probably the turning point in his fortunes. In the course of his professional "boarding round" from family to family, he soon became acquainted with his good genius, Rev. Timothy Walker, the pastor of the church in Rumford. Both Walker and his wife were natives of Woburn, and the former was distantly connected with Thompson's own family. He was a man of very large reading, and held in such great respect by his neighbors, that he had thrice been chosen and sent by them to England to look after their interests. The town of Rumford had been claimed by Massachusetts as a part of Essex county, and likewise by New Hampshire. Such was the very favorable impression which he made in the mother country, that the legal victory was secured for his cause. Probably a better example of the autocratic power, tempered by wisdom and kindness, which was wielded by the early clergy. men of New England, cannot be found than in the person of Rev. Timothy Walker.

Next to this occupant of the village throne had stood Col.

Benjamin Rolfe. He appears to have been very wealthy and public-spirited. In the courts of love, however, he had for some occult reason never been so signally blessed, as in the other walks of life, for he lives until the age of sixty a bachelor. He then espouses the fair daughter of good Parson Walker, who is only thirty. About two years after this marriage he dies, leaving his widow with one child, and the care of a large property. Among the various articles composing this wealth, the finest curricule and pair of horses in all New Hampshire, the Governor's at Portsmouth alone excepted, is soon to play an important part. Readers of William Black's pleasant novel, entitled "*The Strange Adventures of a Phaeton*," will readily surmise the role which the curricule played, for our courtly young pedagogue so approves himself to the eyes of the wealthy young widow, that they come to occupy the fine curricule in company. Thompson soon drives the curricule, with the lady as his companion, a journey of some sixty miles to Boston, where they purchase a wedding outfit. It is said that at this time Benjamin, accompanied by his future bride, visited his old mother in Woburn, in all the sartorial glory and mental support which a scarlet coat made by the most fashionable of tailors, and the consciousness of being the accepted lover of the wealthiest young widow in all the region, can be supposed to bestow. The frugal old lady had not fully taken in the great change which was soon to come over her son's financial horizon, and she despairingly berated him for having spent his whole winter's earnings on the merest frippery. Her handsome son hastily explains and introduces his future bride. His friend Baldwin describes him as being at this time quite an Apollo. He was nearly six feet in height, very athletic and finely proportioned, having bright blue eyes and auburn hair. The expression of his face was very frank and open, at once prepossessing a stranger with favorable regard; added to these natural graces of person, his courtly bearing, his polished but affable manners and lively wit conspired to make him one of Dame Fortune's favorites. It is very pleasing to note in passing, that Rumford's bearing towards his mother was always marked by the warmest love and respect. In her old

age he settles many thousands of dollars upon her, and tries in every way to secure her happiness and comfort. Upon Thompson's marriage, soon after the happy occupants of the curricule had returned to Concord, we find him, for a year or two, leading the life of a gentleman farmer, keeping open house to his friends and writing to them for improved garden seeds and agricultural implements to be imported from England. He still keeps, however, his favorite scientific studies well in hand. To a brilliant coterie of influential, wealthy and cultivated men, his wife had introduced him very soon after their marriage.

Portsmouth was at this time the residence of Gov. Benning Wentworth, the last colonial Governor of New Hampshire. This man seems to have formed the central figure of quite a courtly society in those days. A military review of remarkable interest soon occurred at Dover. Dr. Belknap, the pastor of the church at Dover, and the future historian of the state, preached a sermon, adapted to the occasion, which was graced by the presence of great numbers of prominent people. The fine appearance which Thompson made as a spectator at this review, and the ease with which he managed his fine horse, attracted the attention of Governor Wentworth, who inquired his name, and desired to meet him. After their introduction, Thompson seems to have delighted the Governor by his social ability and varied culture. Not long after this a vacancy occurred in the second provincial regiment of New Hampshire. Governor Wentworth appointed Thompson as major of this regiment, thus filling the vacancy. This appointment by Wentworth, which was proper enough in one sense, as a sort of recognition of Thompson's prominent social position, and the well known standing of his wife's friends as well as a compliment to his high mental ability, was in other respects, most unfair and unfortunate. The hopes of old officers who had seen long and dangerous service in the French and Indian war were by this appointment of Thompson coolly, and as they felt, unjustly set aside.

A beardless youth of only nineteen or twenty, whom they regarded as a mere dandy, and who in utter defiance of Yankee com-

mon sense was wasting time and money over useless electrical, and "smoke machines," optical instruments, etc., etc., and, moreover, as ignorant of actual military service as they were of his much vaunted formulas for the composition of gunpowder and fireworks, was placed over their heads. Nor was this all, the young major made friends in all directions among those superior to himself in rank. He soon formed the acquaintance of Governor Gage of Boston, and is treated by him with marked courtesy. We cannot wonder that these veterans burned with rage, and that they became his unrelenting enemies. Thompson's high spirit, which never bore insult meekly, could not fail to be touched by their envy, and it is not only possible, but probable, judging from average human nature, that his bearing towards them was far from being conciliatory. From this time we see the breach constantly widening between him and the officers of the New Hampshire troops. The country was at this time trembling upon the verge of the abyss of Revolution, into which she was soon to plunge. We come now to a point in his career, which, beyond all doubt, has been the cause of the comparative neglect with which America has treated him.

It has been shown that Thompson was most emphatically a rising man, one whose instincts were all averse to the homely life of the Middlesex farmers in his native town. They on the other hand, with rare exceptions, such as his highly intelligent friends, the Baldwins and those of similar tastes, were easily prejudiced against him. In their estimation he was a ne'er-do-well, who frittered away his time and money in the most wild and fantastic nonsense that ever entered the head of a New England Yankee. Strange it is, but true as strange, that although use and practicality were the peculiarly prominent characteristics of his whole career, he was sneered at as being a mere visionary dreamer. True he could not be charged with the Yankee cardinal sin, gross laziness, for he was well known for eager and intense application to his various chemical and mechanical contrivances. He was quick at figures, a good teacher, etc., but the good traits which they observed only gave a keener edge to the reproofs of his conservative friends and neighbors. Let us

place ourselves in the heated times of 1774. The air is filled with flying rumors of Vigilance Committees, Sons of Liberty, Committees of Correspondence and Safety. Reports of new British insults, heaped upon the people, are everywhere rife.

How, say his envious rivals, can this young major of the second regiment be supposed to differ very widely in his views from Governors Wentworth and Gage, and the British aristocrats who gave him his high position. Personally, Governor Wentworth was very well liked. He had most strongly opposed many of the irritating measures which England was at that time pressing forward. He had even been sent to England to procure the repeal of the stamp act. He had also shown great interest in securing the founding of a college for New Hampshire. Still, notwithstanding his popularity, Governor Gage's troubles soon involved him. The British soldiers in Boston needed barracks, and the mechanics of the adjacent region would not work to shelter the hated red coats. Governor Gage applied to Wentworth for carpenters, and it was claimed that he secretly secured the labor of some for Gage. This was discovered, and the Committee of Ways and Means at Portsmouth made a most vigorous inquest into the matter. One unfortunate made confession that he had helped in building the barracks, and he was compelled on his knees to sign a most painfully humiliating acknowledgment of his error. Soon the committee fancied that Thompson, as the well known friend of Wentworth and Gage, might be guilty of a similar misdemeanor. He is not the man to enjoy making such a spectacle of himself, as the other suspected man had done. His attitude towards their demands was not conciliatory. He is soon charged with flat disloyalty to his country's cause. A mob assembles around his house, whose violence even his highly respected father-in-law, Walker, can not calm. Thompson, himself, at that time, and afterwards to the very day of his death, declared that up to the time he was obliged to take refuge with the English, he had never acted in word or deed against his country. His after life during his last years evinced the truth of his statement. At the same time his cool, scientific way of weighing the merits of the rival parties must have

been very exasperating to men, already his pronounced enemies. That Major Thompson had fully opposed all his life England's injustice to her colonies, we have already stated. So had Governor Wentworth, his intimate friend. He hoped that cooler and wiser counsels would soon prevail, and he would be spared the shameful taunt of proving ungrateful to those who had been his best friends. His outspoken disapproval of the mob violence shown by some of the patriotic party, only resulted in an attack of the mob upon himself. After long and anxious weighing the matter, he fully made up his mind to espouse the cause of his country. The decision was made too late, and he was forced to flee from Concord to Woburn. Here his wife and their infant daughter joined him, and he had a brief interval of rest. Soon the battles of Lexington and Concord were fought. In these battles, it is said, that Thompson fought with several of his kinsmen, one of whom, Daniel Thompson, was left dead on the field. Washington soon appeared at Cambridge, and Major Thompson, most warmly seconded by the Baldwins, whose eager patriotism was never doubted at any time, offered his services to him. Washington seems to have been much pleased with him, and was inclined to grant him a commission in the artillery, a branch of the service for which Thompson's long continued studies made him better fitted to enter than any man in America at that time. His old enemies, the New Hampshire veterans, soon discovered that their young rival bade fair to out-rank them again, and they raised such a storm of rage that Major Thompson's services were declined, and he himself was treated by many with insult. A mob even came to Baldwin's house in Woburn to search for the "Tory Major," as he was called.

Colonel Baldwin received the mob with great urbanity, cajoled them with strong flattery and stronger liquors, until the innocent object of their hatred easily effected his escape from his bemuddled foes. Deeply chagrined and provoked by such treatment, Major Thompson demanded public investigations into his previous conduct. One was holden at Woburn, and in not a single instance was anything looking like treason proven against him. Others resulted in a similar way. All was in vain. Abuse was

still showered upon him, till at last, leaving his wife and daughter to the care of her father, Mr. Walker, collecting a few debts with which to supply him with a little ready money, he was driven by his half-brother, Josiah Pierce, to the shores of Narragansett bay. Here he is taken by some English officers, who were his friends, on board the frigate Scarborough. One is glad to note that his sense of honor forbade him to take with him a cent of his wife's property. His own little property was promptly confiscated after his flight became known. Major Thompson has now to begin life afresh, but he was with those by whom he had been assiduously courted for a long time, and his advance was rapid. The Scarborough soon came to Boston, and after the British troops evacuated the city, he was sent to England to bear General Howe's dispatches to the government. Arrived here, the youth of twenty-three at once gained the favor of Lord George Germaine. By him he was given an appointment in the colonial office. He gave prompt and efficient attention to military affairs. Various improvements in the equipments of the army were proposed by him and immediately adopted by the government. Still more progress was made by him in the matter of gunpowder, and the construction and use of cannon and smaller fire-arms, and the laws of their projectiles. He also devised a code of signals. Some of his experiments in the laws of cohesion brought him to the favorable notice of the president of the Royal Society, Sir Joseph Banks. He was elected a member of the society at the age of only twenty-six. He quickly formed the acquaintance of the leading men of England in military, scientific and governmental circles. Rare opportunities were given him for the prosecution of his researches, especially in naval gunnery. When his great friend and patron, Lord George Germaine, resigned office, he received as a recognition of his faithful services a lieutenant colonelcy in the British army. His command was to be raised in America from the disaffected and loyalists. Experimenting in gunnery as his vessel makes the passage to America, he arrived at Charleston, S. C., sometime in January, 1782. There, in charge of a regiment of cavalry, he seems to have been opposed to Marion, the Swamp

Fox, as he was sometimes called. With a large force Colonel Thompson made a very successful attack upon Marion, near the Santee river. This was his chief success here. We next find him with the British fleet at New York. At Huntington, Long Island, he built a fort and recruited his regiment. At the presentation of colors to this regiment, the third son of the king was present and placed the flag in Colonel Thompson's hand. In regard to his course in Long Island, the fact cannot be denied that he has been severely criticised by Henry Onderdonk, Benjamin F. Thompson and Nathaniel S. Prime, historians of Long Island. He was charged with disregard of the complaints of the people, whom, it is said, his soldiers treated with harshness. It is to be feared that some of these stories are too true.

The only possible justification of his course may be found possibly in the idea that he regarded it as a sort of reprisal in part for the very great insult and severity which he received from his countrymen when consciously innocent of all ill-will towards his native land, and even desirous of serving in her defense. Certainly his conduct, notwithstanding his great provocation, was not marked by that exalted patriotism which would endure wrong rather than resent it.

Upon the close of the war, Thompson had acquired a fine reputation as a quick, alert, bold and faithful soldier, although his actual service had been short. He is soon appointed colonel in the regular army on half pay, for the remainder of his life. Having in his capacity as "Under Secretary of State," made many acquaintances, we soon find him traveling on the continent, where he is very courteously treated by many titled people. Among these friends of noble birth—one stands pre-eminent—Charles Frederick, elector and reigning Duke of Bavaria. This prince, in 1784, invites him to take up his residence with him in Munich, his capital. Permission is granted by the English king to do so, and the monarch is graciously pleased to confer the honor of knighthood upon our "soldier of fortune." Sir Benjamin, as we may now call him, is now well prepared for success in Germany. Although scarcely past thirty, he has already been recognized in England as a rising scientist as well as

soldier. Given more and more power by his prince, he revolutionizes one thing after another with surprising rapidity, and happy results following the innovations. The army is drilled and disciplined finely, but strange to say, made self-supporting. Huge work-houses and eating-houses for the military bear ocular proof of his reforms. The men were never so well clothed and fed before. Soon a still greater work is successfully grappled and accomplished by our industrious, self-supporting Yankee. To the titles of soldier and scientist, he is now henceforth to bear prouder ones still—he is *philanthropist* and *reformer* on a huge scale. Armies of beggars, swarming everywhere through the streets, under his wonderful management become quiet, orderly, self-respecting and self-supporting citizens. It is most evident that these wondrous changes for the better in the condition of the people are most pleasing to his mind, and he reverts to them again and again. Although such a friend and benefactor of the poor, he is more and more courted and honored by kings and nobles—literary and scientific men. He becomes member of the Academies of Munich, Manheim and Berlin, Councillor of State, Lieutenant General, Minister of War, and not stopping even here, his steadfast friend, the Elector, makes him “Count of the Holy Roman Empire,” with all the privileges and immunities which such a title bore with it. With a pleasing grace, as his mind reverts to Rumford, N. H., now Concord, and his happy life and marriage there, short-lived though his happiness was, he chooses to be known as the Count of Rumford. Soon war breaks out—from London where, although a visitor, he is most actively engaged in scientific pursuits, he hurries home to Munich. The Elector flees from the city, but not until he has appointed his friend “Regent.” In full command of the Bavarian army he so impresses the invading armies with respect for himself and his city, that they retire, having neither sacked nor injured the city. More gratitude and more honors in return for this great service follow, from the grateful prince and people. As a slight return, and to show as it were, his sense of pleasure in their appreciation of his favors, he now, by his engineering skill converts a large tract of

waste, barren land into one of the most pleasing pleasure grounds in Europe. The city of Munich becomes the gainer by a park, whose circuit was at least six miles. The park now contains one of the monuments erected in his honor. Much more still lies before Rumford, in the way of gratifying his thirst for scientific research. Paper after paper from his pen are read at the Royal Institution, London, which he had the honor of founding in 1799, and similar societies for advancing science elsewhere. Generous sums of money are given by him to the Royal Institution.

But now, freed from pressing political duties at Munich, thoughts of home, relatives and friends in America fill his mind. His daughter, by his first wife, who had long been dead in Concord, N. H., had long resided with her father in Europe, having been sent for to come to him. To his old mother and other relatives, he had long been sending the most ample pecuniary remittances for their comfort. Now, not only his own family, but the national government of the States invite him home. His boyhood's firm friend, Colonel Loammi Baldwin, writes him that he has a fine building site selected for him, almost directly opposite his own mansion. A large and imposing residence is built on this position for the Count's abode, when he once gets back again. This house is still standing, but Rumford never occupied its spacious apartments. Fever seized him at Auteuil, near Paris, the villa of his second wife, the widow of Lavoisier, the famous French chemist, and he died August 21, 1814, in the sixty-second year of his age, "thus depriving mankind of one of its most eminent benefactors and science of one of its brightest ornaments."

We have thus in the briefest and most hasty way endeavored to roughly indicate our countryman's wonderful career in Europe. This part of the tale is well known abroad. Americans, however, when gazing, in Munich, at the noble bronze presentment of Count Rumford's tall form and commanding features, are too prone to forget that the same person who in life tried in vain to serve his country as a soldier in her early struggles—did succeed in serving her nobly after his death—as the terms of his will

show most conclusively. When we consider that not only the highest scientific recognition of England, but also of America, are gold medals, given by him and bearing his profile, we may well admit that there is a debt of gratitude due from both the mother country and our own. That he had faults we make no attempt to deny, but we feel that despite these, he was originally and continued to be, a loving son of the old Bay State which gave him birth. One of the grandest proofs of attachment of a people to a ruler ever penned by a historian, were those words of our countryman, Motley, when speaking of the assassination of the Washington of the Low Countries in 1584 by Balthazar Gerard. "When William of Orange died all the little children cried in the streets for grief." When Rumford had succeeded in carrying out his noble schemes for making men and brothers of those once despised and loathsome Bavarian beggars, his life hung trembling in the balance by reason of a dangerous illness. Self moved, day after day at a given hour, the once brutalized pests of society, in a body, filed through the streets, as orderly, self-respecting citizens to the great cathedral to supplicate God to spare the life of their great benefactor. In view of such facts, may we not be ready to claim Benjamin Thompson, not only as the greatest scientist that America as yet produced, as Prof. Tyndall says, but also as a friend to science, a friend to America, his native land, and to mankind.

NOTE.—In the first volume of the Rumford Essays, we found the famous papers on the "Propagation of Heat in Fluids, and in Various Substances," and "An Experimental Inquiry Concerning the Source of the Heat which is Excited by *Friction*." In the latter paper the great scientist recounts his astonishment, while boring cannon at the government foundries, to find that the friction produced actually caused water to boil, and he finally says it is "difficult, if not quite impossible, to form any distinct idea of anything capable of being excited and communicated in the manner in which the heat was excited and communicated in these experiments, except it be *Motion*." Professor Tyndall of England, who some years ago visited the old birthplace of Rumford, and expressed his astonishment that the house should ever have been left by the American people to go to ruin, has himself taken, in 1864, the great gold Rumford medal of the Royal Society, for his researches upon the nature of heat. He generously ascribes to Rumford the honor of the seed-thought, which he himself has now expanded in his book, "*Heat as a Mode of Motion*."

APRIL 7, 1879.—ANNUAL MEETING.

MR. JOHN L. RICE read the following paper:

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE AND THE STATE OF NEW CONNECTICUT,
1776-1782.

The State of New Connecticut, in the ordinary sense perhaps, can not be said ever to have existed outside the brains of its projectors; at least, it never took on such tangible form as to achieve a place in history separate and distinct from the other political bodies with which it was entangled and among which it lost such identity as it once had. Nevertheless, as conceived and wrought upon by the statesmen of the upper Connecticut valley throughout the entire period of the American Revolution, it became so far a reality that it was felt and recognized as a weighty factor in all the perplexing questions attending the admission of Vermont into the Union. In this view it may justly be said to have had a being and a history. And whenever that history shall be clearly eliminated from the mass of controversial records in which it has lain buried for a century, it will present one of the most exciting and instructive episodes in which the formative period of our institutions abounds.

That the project of erecting an independent state out of contiguous portions of the territory now comprised within New Hampshire and Vermont, once occupied the minds of men, is well known. It is also matter of history, that some initiatory steps were taken towards a realization of the scheme. But it is only as collateral and incident to Vermont's struggle for independence, that the annals of the time furnish any trace of what was done in this direction. The failure and abandonment of the movement, coming as it did in the very midst of the great achievements which assured the independence of the colonies, left it without a historian. The chroniclers of that era were busied with grander events; the scene was remote from the then centers of intelligence; the leading spirits in the ill-starred scheme were interested to cover up and obscure its interior history; and

the early historians of New Hampshire and Vermont found the task of collecting materials for their respective works too difficult to admit of its extension into this collateral field. So it has happened that a century has passed without any attempt to gather into connected form such scattered fragments as are left to tell the story of this "lost cause." The current histories of the revolutionary period are silent upon the subject, except as to what might be called the "foreign relations" of the proposed new state; that is to say, its points of contact with New Hampshire and Vermont, and its general outward aspect as viewed from the respective stand-points of those two commonwealths. The causes which inspired the movement and the influences which guided it, are only to be found in the general history of the settlement of the territory, in the previous political and religious training of the settlers, in the geographical situation, and above all, in the strong leadership of Dartmouth College, and the group of learned and enterprising men who gathered about that institution and hoped to make it the center of political power in northern New England; while the progress of actual events can be but faintly traced in scanty town records, and such remains of private correspondence as the lapse of time is now gradually bringing to the light. Some recent publications of documentary state histories will also aid somewhat to an understanding of the subject, no more than a general outline of which can be attempted within the limits of this brief paper.

The early geography of the New England colonies was so constantly appealed to by all the parties to the controversy in the midst of which New Connecticut arose, declined, and fell, that it must needs be recalled at the outset. The grant to the Council of Plymouth in 1620 of all the lands between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude was not limited by any definite western boundary. It followed that Massachusetts and Connecticut, claiming under that grant indefinitely to the westward, early came in collision with New York; since the latter Province, by the express terms of the Duke of York's grant in 1663, was bounded on the east by the Connecticut river. In consequence of this dispute, royal commissioners were appointed

in 1664, who negotiated a settlement at the present line, twenty miles east of the Hudson. Notwithstanding this settlement, however, the re-grant of New York in 1674, again named the Connecticut as its eastern boundary. But the New England colonies, by exclusive occupancy of the territory, gained a prescriptive right westward to the line established by the commissioners, which was finally acquiesced in by New York. The original northern boundary of Massachusetts was equally vague; being, in the terms of the grant of 1629, at a line three miles north of every part of the Merrimac river, and thence due west to the western boundary, under the supposition that the general course of the Merrimac was from west to east. The original Province of New Hampshire, as granted by the Council of Plymouth to John Mason in 1629, was limited with great precision—commencing on the sea-board three miles north of the Merrimac's mouth, running up that river by the north line of Massachusetts sixty miles, thence across to a point on the Piscataqua river sixty miles above its mouth, thence by that river to the sea. The true course of the Merrimac being so far different from what had been supposed, Massachusetts had been made much larger and New Hampshire much smaller than had been intended by these grants; to remedy which mistake an order of the King in Council in 1739, established the present northern boundary of Massachusetts; and New Hampshire proper, or the Mason Grant as it is known in history, was thenceforward regarded as extending west of the Merrimac to a point on this boundary sixty miles from the sea-board, and its north-western boundary, known also as the Mason Line, as commencing at this point and running across to the sixty mile point on the Piscataqua, or, rather on the western boundary of Maine.

The settlers on the Mason Grant, after being a long time under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, at length petitioned the Crown for a separate government; and in 1679 a President and Council were appointed by Royal Commission to govern the Province in a manner which was theoretically, at least, purely arbitrary and unrestrained, a form of government which continued without substantial change, till the revolt of the colonies.

The determination of the present Massachusetts north line in 1739 had this effect; that all the territory to the north of that line, not included in the Mason Grant, remained ungranted and outside the jurisdiction of any of the Colonial Governments, unless New York might rightfully claim eastward to the Connecticut; that is to say, it remained under the immediate jurisdiction of the Crown. In this state of affairs Benning Wentworth was appointed Governor of the Province of New Hampshire, on the 3d of July, 1741. The Royal Commission issued to him, described the Province as "bounded on the south side by a curve line pursuing the course of the Merrimac river, at three miles distance, on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic ocean, and ending at a point due north of a place called Pautucket Falls, and by a straight line drawn from thence due west cross said river, *till it meets with our other Governments;* and bounded on the east side by a line passing up through the mouth of Piscataqua Harbor, and up the middle of the river to the river of Newichannock, part of which is now called Salmon Falls, and through the middle of the same to the furthest head thereof, and from thence north two degrees westerly, until one hundred and twenty miles be finished from the mouth of Piscataqua Harbor aforesaid, *or until it meets with our other Governments.*" This description, it will be observed, included all the ungranted territory between the Mason Line and the King's other provinces, being New York on the west and Quebec on the north; whereas all previous commissions for the government of New Hampshire had limited the province to the old Mason Grant of 1629. Wentworth's commission further authorized and commanded him to grant townships in this new territory, in the King's name, and to incorporate the grantees into bodies politic with powers and privileges equal to those enjoyed by the Massachusetts and Connecticut towns, from whence it was expected the settlers were to be drawn. Whether or not the acceptance of these town charters operated to unite the recipients of them into one body politic with the people on the Mason Grant, as effectually as the people of Massachusetts became united by the acceptance of their colonial charter, was a

question about which, as we shall see, endless discussion was waged, when the New Connecticut scheme came to be broached.

On the 3d of January, 1749, Wentworth granted the township of Bennington, his first venture west of the Connecticut, bounding it westerly on the continuation of the west line of Massachusetts; thus serving notice upon New York that he interpreted his commission as giving him jurisdiction to that line. Governor Clinton promptly interposed a counter claim to jurisdiction eastward to the Connecticut; whereupon Wentworth desisted so far as to make no further grants west of the Green mountains. He however granted Brattleboro, and a few other towns in its vicinity, on both sides of the Connecticut, before the outbreak of the Franco-Canadian war, in 1754, caused him to suspend operations. But, with these exceptions, and a small number of towns granted by Massachusetts before the boundary of 1739 had been established, practically the whole region between the present western boundary of Vermont and the Mason line, remained ungranted and unsettled till the English conquest of Canada in 1759. As soon, however, as British ascendancy in Canada gave assurance of permanent tranquillity to settlers, they flocked in great numbers to every part of the new country. The young men of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who had traversed the wilds on numerous military expeditions during the war just closed, had brought back glowing accounts of the swarms of fur-bearing animals that roamed the forests, of the salmon and trout in which the rivers and lakes abounded, and above all, of the mammoth growths of white pine that crowded the valley of the upper Connecticut, and bore testimony to a soil of surpassing fertility. With the advent of peace, they returned, bringing with them their friends and neighbors, to reap the advantages of the liberal grants now offered by the King, through the New Hampshire Governor.

During the four years from 1760 to 1764, Wentworth granted not less than one hundred and fifty townships west of the Connecticut, and fifty or more on the east side. New York made no grants in the territory, but continued to assert a claim eastward to the river, and constantly warned off the settlers under Went-

worth's grants. Proclamations and counter proclamations were issued and representations made to the home government, by the Governors of the two provinces, till an order of the King in Council, on the 20th of July, 1764, decreed the western bank of the Connecticut to be the dividing line. Wentworth, however, and his successor, continued to make grants east of the river as long as the royal authority was recognized in New Hampshire.

The grantees of these townships were for the most part from Connecticut, though a considerable number were from Massachusetts, and a few from Rhode Island. As a rule also the first settlers came from the localities of the grantees; so that for many years the Connecticut element in the population greatly predominated. Under their liberal charters the settlers speedily developed a system of town government surpassing in its spirit of independence and unbridled democracy, even that of its prototype, the Massachusetts and Connecticut town. Their remoteness from the seat of the Provincial government at Portsmouth, the sparseness of the population and the consequent danger from the Indians, naturally led to this result among a people already, by previous training, deeply imbued with the idea of local self-government. The strength of the religious sentiment, and the almost universal prevalence of congregationalism as a form of belief and of church polity, greatly intensified this spirit and lent a powerful impulse to all its manifestations. There was scarcely a function of civil government which these fierce little republics did not essay during the first twenty years of their existence. In the very beginning of the settlements, so manifest was this spirit of republicanism, that New York used it as an argument to the home Government against New Hampshire's claim to jurisdiction west of the Connecticut; representing to the Lords of Trade and Plantations that, "The New England Governments are formed on Republican principles, and those principles, are zealously inculcated on their youth, in opposition to the principles of the Constitution of Great Britain. The Government of New York, on the contrary, is established as nearly as may be, after the model of the English Constitution. Can it then be good policy to diminish the extent

of Jurisdiction in His Majesty's Province of New York, to extend the power and influence of the other?" And it can not be doubted that it was the "policy" here suggested, rather than any principle of law or equity, which made the Connecticut the boundary between the rival provinces.

The royal decree of 1764, transferring the territory west of the river to the jurisdiction of New York, was not only without the consent of the settlers but manifestly against their will. The New York government, being then the embodiment of the centralized system as opposed to the New England town system, would at best have found it difficult to exercise more than a nominal authority over the "Grants," as all the towns outside the Mason line then began to be called. But when it was claimed that this arbitrary act of the crown was retroactive and operated to invalidate the land titles of the settlers, all thought of obedience fled from their minds. A spirit of uncompromising resistance immediately sprung up among them, particularly on the west side of the Green mountains, where from their proximity to New York, they were most frequently evicted from their lands. East of the mountains, especially in the "Cohos Country," as the upper Connecticut valley was then called, the power of New York was so little felt that such hostility to the change as existed there, was due solely to sympathy and to the general spirit of resistance to all forms of oppression, which was everywhere rife at the time. The people east of the mountains, however, were never so closely united with those on the west side, as might have been expected from their common origin and similarity of circumstance. This laxity of the bond of union between these two sections needs now to be explained; and the explanation will account for that divergence of opinion and aim which led to the attempt, upon the Declaration of Independence, to form the state of New Connecticut, by a confederation of the Grants on both sides of the river, simultaneously and in partial conflict with the efforts then making for the formation of Vermont with its eastern boundary at the river.

The Green mountain range itself was at that time a formidable barrier to intercourse between the two sections; but besides

this passive agent there were active causes of alienation even more potent and lasting. As has already been stated, the settlers on the Grants, with the exception of a small number from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, had emigrated from Connecticut. The unity of religious and political sentiment among them has also been remarked. And in a general sense it may be said to be true, that there was substantial accord in their views. At the same time there were differences sufficient, in conjunction with other causes, to inaugurate two separate and distinct schemes of state-making among them, in the very midst of the struggle for independence, and to embarrass and delay for many years the admission of Vermont into the Union. All the settlers had brought with them the idea that the popular branch of the legislature should be absolutely supreme in a constitutional government; a habit of thought which had grown from that of Englishmen looking to the Commons as their peculiar guardian against the tyranny of the Crown. In Massachusetts the long conflict between the assembly and the executive had resulted in a deep-rooted prejudice against both the executive and the judiciary; and the people of that colony, at the time of the emigration to the Grants, had imbibed the belief that a state of perfect security and happiness would be theirs if they could be permitted to elect annually all the officers of government. The influence of John Adams and the other political scientists of his day, which gradually overcame that belief, arrived too late to affect the radicals who went to the Grants. They were still intoxicated with the idea that the right of suffrage and the town system, pure and simple, were the panacea for all political ills, and the sole security of liberty and happiness.

The people of Connecticut had by their charter the right of suffrage and the privilege of electing annually all their officers. Under this system and the peculiar blending of church and state which obtained in that colony, they had enjoyed a great degree of happiness and security, especially as the great majority of them were of one religious faith and practice. But there was a small minority among them, composed of lesser sects and denominations, who were treated as dissenters, and who com-

plained with much reason, apparently, of the persecution of the prevailing sect. These persecuted sects, known generally as "Separatists," conceived that their wrongs, as they were of course visited upon them by the executive branch of the government, were due wholly to some inherent tendency in a central executive power to become oppressive. Having struggled persistently, but vainly, for toleration at home, when the emigration to the Grants commenced, they went in great numbers to the region west of the Green mountains, procuring numerous town charters, and establishing themselves in a permanent ascendancy wherever they cast their lot. One entire society of them, minister and all, settled in Bennington and was soon joined by another of the same sect from Massachusetts. Among these were the Allens, the Warners, the Fays, the Robinsons, the Walbridges, the Deweys and others who were chiefly instrumental in successfully resisting New York and achieving the independence of Vermont. The few settlers who came from that colony of heretics, Rhode Island, also located in the vicinity of Bennington, and added an element of even fiercer democracy. The experience of these people had led them to the belief that no power could be lodged in a central executive consistently with the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, a belief which the oppressive measures of New York tended to confirm. Great strength of intellect and a remarkable boldness of expression characterized the leaders, resulting in the rapid spread of their political tenets, and making Bennington at once the center of political influence west of the mountains. At a later date the southernmost towns on the east side also came to look to Bennington for political guidance.

On the other hand, the emigrants to the Cohos country were almost wholly of the prevailing sect in Connecticut, and of their religious brethren in Massachusetts. Here, also, events had led to a concentration of influence scarcely less potent than that which had its seat at Bennington. Among the earliest settlers in the valley had come a number of men of wealth and culture, many of them graduates of Yale and Harvard colleges, who were eminently fitted to shape the institutions of an infant

state, as well as to guide its destinies when formed. Conspicuous among them were the Chases at Cornish, the Paynes at Lebanon, the Freemans at Hanover, the Childs at Lyine, and the Moreys at Orford, on the eastern bank of the river, while on the west were the Marshes at Hartford, the Olcotts at Norwich, and the Hazens and Baileys at Newbury. To the influence of these men was due the location at Hanover in 1769, of Dartmouth college, then just chartered by the Crown with the privilege of choosing its own habitation. Thus were drawn to Hanover and its immediate vicinity, along with President Eleazer Wheelock, his son and successor, Colonel John Wheelock, his brother-in-law, Bezaleel Woodward, first professor of mathematics in the college, and a numerous company of other educated and influential men, whose zeal in public affairs added greatly to the prominence which these river towns had already attained. The college became naturally a center of political influence. A district three miles square, to which was given the name of Dresden, in that part of Hanover immediately surrounding the college, was placed under its jurisdiction, and President Wheelock appointed a civil magistrate for its government. The river at this time was regarded as only nominally a dividing line between separate provinces. The government of New York was too remote to make itself much felt in the towns on the west side; while that of New Hampshire was scarcely more than a name to those on the east. It issued a few commissions to justices of the peace and to militia officers, and exacted a trifling tax in return. But it provided no local courts and little defense against the Indians. Representation in the provincial assembly being only at the pleasure of the governor, the towns outside the Mason Grant, with their republican proclivities, had rarely been invited to send delegates, and they in turn paid little heed to its enactments in which they had no voice. For the purpose of more effectually resisting the attacks of savages, loose confederacies of the towns on both sides of the river were frequently formed, which were dissolved and renewed as occasion required.

Such was the situation of affairs when the revolt of the colo-

nies, followed by their formal Declaration of Independence, set on foot two diverse, if not rival projects for the erection of the New Hampshire Grants into an independent state; the one emanating from Bennington, the other from the college. The Bennington party were animated chiefly by the hostility to New York which the attempted annulling of the Wentworth grants had aroused; although a natural antipathy to the New York system of centralization, which then promised to project itself into the future of that colony, must sooner or later have led such ardent disciples of pure democracy to revolt against it. The college party, on the other hand, were brought to the idea of a new state by a calm and unimpassioned process of reasoning, in which, apparently, expediency played a leading part. At the same time, it will appear that the New Hampshire towns under the college influence, found occasion to differ very materially from the dominant party in that colony, as to the frame of government instituted upon the collapse of the royal authority. At Bennington the stuffed catamount, mounted in front of Jonas Fay's tavern, peering over the border and grinning defiance to New York, betokened the spirit of the "Green Mountain Boys." While at Dresden, a decorous printing press, working off in cold type essays upon the Social Contract in general, and the effect which independence had wrought upon the New Hampshire Grants in particular, showed forth the manner in which the college party would build up a new commonwealth out of its natural elements. The "stalwart" and the "literary" schools of politics, as we shall see, were here set over against each other as sharply as they have ever appeared at any period of our history since that time. Whatever might have been the result in less troublous times, the event proved that the men of thought were no match for the men of action; for while the star of New Connecticut scarcely rose above the political horizon, that of Vermont mounted till it joined the original galaxy of states, where it has shone with a brilliancy than which none has been purer or more steadfast.

The assembling of the first Continental Congress at Philadelphia, on the 4th of September, 1774, was the signal for an al-

most universal suspension of the royal authority throughout the colonies. In New Hampshire, governor John Wentworth maintained himself in nominal power till September, 1775, when he abdicated and sailed away in a British frigate. Upon his departure the evil consequences entailed upon a people by such a paternal system of government as his had been, at once became apparent. That the province was left without any civil constitution, is true; whereas the other New England colonies, under their charter organizations, passed naturally and easily into a state of independence without internal disturbance of any kind; Connecticut even expressly ordaining that her original Charter of 1662, should continue to be the frame of government, and it so remained till 1818. But the habit of dependence was so strong upon the people in the eastern part of New Hampshire, where the provincial government had had its seat, and where the great majority of the colony resided, that they immediately turned their eyes to the continental congress and prayed for instructions how to proceed with respect to the administration of justice and their other internal police. That body, on the third of November, 1775, recommended the Provincial Congress of New Hampshire, then in session at Exeter, "to call a full and free representation of the people; and that the representatives, if they think it necessary, establish such a frame of government as, in their judgment, will best produce the happiness of the people, and most effectually secure peace and good order in the province during the continuance of the present dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies." Following this recommendation, another congress was immediately called to meet at Exeter on the 21st of December, making the fourth that had been held in the province. This congress, although containing a much larger representation of the people than any that had preceded it, was not sufficiently free and spontaneous to meet the views of the college party. Its predecessor had called it, and had prescribed the plan of representation, which was in substance a numerical basis arrived at approximately by grouping together the smaller towns, and assigning to them collectively a single representative. Hanover, and the five towns grouped with it,

refused to send a representative. The congress on the 5th of January adopted a frame of government, and resolved itself into a Council and House of Representatives in pursuance of instructions to that effect given to the delegates by their constituents. This constitution was also exceedingly distasteful to the college party, in that it did not accord to towns, as such, the right of representation, but perpetuated the numerical basis by placing in the hands of the original Assembly or House of Representatives the power to prescribe the mode in which its successor should be constituted and elected.

The first steps in the revolt of the colonies were the signal also for organized effort on the part of the Bennington party to effect a separation from New York. On the 11th of April, 1775, a convention of Committees of Safety of Cumberland county towns met at Westminster, and voted that it was the duty of the people on the Grants, "predicated on the eternal and immutable law of self-preservation, to wholly renounce and resist the administration of the government of New York." The geographical divisions at this time were Cumberland county on the south; and Gloucester on the north, in the territory between the Green mountains and the Connecticut river, with the dividing line at or near Windsor; while in New Hampshire, the territory west and north of the water-shed between the Merrimac and the Connecticut was similarly divided into the two counties of Cheshire on the south and Grafton on the north. The battle of Lexington, following so soon after the Westminster convention, diverted the attention of New York from this local disturbance to the greater peril which threatened the liberties of the whole American people. The Bennington leaders profited by the diversion to organize and consolidate the discontent upon which they were building their scheme of a new state; and on the 16th of January, 1776, a convention of delegates from a large number of towns west of the mountains, met at Dorset and addressed to Congress a remonstrance against any further submission to New York, and praying that in the common cause against Great Britain, in which the people on the Grants were desirous of exerting themselves to their utmost, they might do

duty independently of New York, and as a separate district by themselves. The influence of New York prevailed upon Congress to answer this petition with a recommendation that the people on the Grants submit to New York until the issue between the colonies and Great Britain should be decided, coupled with the assurance that such submission and delay should in no way prejudice their case, whereupon the petition was withdrawn.

The Declaration of Independence, however, gave a fresh impulse to the movement for a separation. Circular letters were at once sent into all the towns on the Grants west of the river, calling upon them to send delegates to another convention at Dorset on the 24th of July. This convention met and resolved, "That application be made to the inhabitants of said Grants to form the same into a separate district." As only one delegate attended from the east side of the mountains, fears were entertained that the people in that section were averse to the movement, and a committee was appointed to go among them and endeavor to secure their co-operation,—the convention adjourning meanwhile to the 25th of September. This committee met the Committees of Safety of the Cumberland and Gloucester county towns, at Windsor on the 6th of August, and again at Norwich in September, when it was discovered that the Gloucester county towns desired that their Grafton county neighbors across the river in New Hampshire might be included in the movement. The Dorset committee, taken wholly by surprise, besides being without authority to entertain such a proposition, declined to listen to it, and the conference broke up without a definite understanding being arrived at. However, on the reassembling of the convention in September, delegates attended from a few towns east of the mountains, although only a single Gloucester county town was represented. This small accession of strength did not wholly relieve the Bennington party of its embarrassment, but the convention found courage to enter into what was called in its day, "The Covenant of Comfort," by which it declared itself fully authorized to transact the political affairs of the Grants, and bound its members, as well as their constituents, to "strictly and religiously adhere to the several

Resolves of this or a future convention, constituted on said Grants by the free voice of the friends of American liberties." Successive adjournments, and meetings at which little seems to have been done except to resolve to do more, brought the convention finally to Westminster on the 15th of January, 1777.

Up to this time the Gloucester county towns, with a single exception, had taken no part in the movement. Not, as it might seem, because they were unwilling to separate from New York, nor because they were opposed to a new state, but their intimate association with the Grafton county towns on the other bank of the Connecticut, made them cautious of committing themselves to any plan which should make the river the eastern boundary, as seemed to be the settled purpose of the Bennington party, under whose guidance the movement was progressing, if in fact, they were not already wedded in some degree to the other scheme of state-making, which had its nucleus at the college. There are indications also, that many of the methods of the Bennington leaders were, even at this first period of contact, distasteful to the more cultured and decorous gentlemen who were the leaders of opinion in the Cohos country.

Some time before the Windsor conference of August 6, the leading Gloucester towns had made overtures to their neighbors in Grafton to join them in sending delegates to the Dorset convention. But the sentiment in Grafton was, on the whole, not favorable to a separation from New Hampshire. Most of those towns had participated in the framing of the temporary constitution at Exeter, in January, and although that work had been a disappointment and a trial to them, although they had little or no influence in the new government, and scarcely anything in common with those who controlled its councils, still they held themselves bound by the compact thus entered into, even if their connection under the provincial government had not survived the collapse of that authority. It was just at this time that the influence of the college began to make itself felt as a practical political force. How that influence succeeded in overcoming the sentiment of loyalty to their obligations,

which held those towns to New Hampshire, remains now to be told.

On the 31st of July, 1776, there was held in the College Hall at Dresden, a convention of the committees of safety of the towns of Plainfield, Lebanon, Enfield, Canaan, Cardigan (now Orange), Hanover, Lyme, Orford, Haverhill, Bath and Landaff, whose action set in motion a train of complications that ran all through the war of Independence, and apparently, at times, only stopped short of bloodshed because that larger struggle forbade such a distraction. Of the doings of this assemblage no record remains but a printed address, which it sent out to the people of New Hampshire, but which indicates very clearly the objects it had in view. This address, every way remarkable for its skill and boldness, sets out with the declaration that, "The providence of God, the grand continental congress,* and our own necessitous circumstances, call upon us to assume our natural right of laying a foundation of civil government within and for this colony." This startling proposition, ignoring as it did all that had already been done at Exeter, required no common mastery of political science and dialectic skill for its support; and such it surely had. After laying down the broad truth that "freedom is possible to every people who have the spirit to seize upon it," the address goes on to point out that the colonists had lost their liberties, under the British constitution, by their criminal neglect to assert their right to representation in Parliament. "Whenever," it affirms, "a people give up their right of representation, they consequently give up all their rights and privileges;" and proceeds thence to exhort to vigilance, promptness and devotion, lest the fullest blessings of a free government should be forever lost. "Let us not give occasion," says this eloquent appeal, "to our neighbors or posterity to reproach us by saying that we made a glorious stand against the strides of arbitrary power and oppression, and with our blood and treasure gained the happy conquest, but in the

* Congress had, on the 10th of May, 1776, in anticipation of the Declaration of Independence, recommended the several colonies to frame for themselves governments suitable to the exigencies of an entire separation from Great Britain.

first advance we made towards establishing a Constitution for ourselves, we either inadvertently or carelessly gave up our most essential rights and liberties; or rather that we did nothing to preserve them."

The pertinency and force of this appeal will be apparent when we remember how ardently the settlers on the Wentworth Grants were attached to their town system, and then turn to the proceedings which had been had at Exeter, and note the prevailing influences which were at work from that center. The provincial government of New Hampshire had been absolute. The colony had never had a charter. The power of its Assembly had from the first been circumscribed by the will of the Royal Governor, and its office had been scarcely more than to register his decrees. Only such towns as he chose to confer the privilege upon, had ever been allowed representation. In the first Assembly, in 1680, four towns only were represented, and the precepts sent to them expressly named the electors who were to choose the delegates. In the last Assembly, in 1775, the number of towns represented had only been increased to forty-three; while upwards of one hundred had never had a voice in legislation at all. Only three in all the region to the west and north of the water-shed between the Merrimac and the Connecticut, had ever had delegates admitted to seats. The rule of the Wentworths had been so mild, however, as to arouse no opposition, more especially as the leading men in the seaboard county of Rockingham, which contained more than half the population of the province down to 1770, were aristocratic merchants, who had grown rich under favor of the government, —a circumstance which explains, no doubt, why New Hampshire did not join heartily in the non-importation league until threatened by the other colonies with the withdrawal of their intercourse with her. These merchants and their connections had sat so constantly in the provincial Assemblies, and had become so influential in public affairs, that they easily passed to the same commanding position in the new government which they had held in the old. It thus happened that the Congress which called the constitutional convention of 1775, under the

lead of these men, whose republicanism, to say the least, was of a very mild type, inaugurated the system of a numerical basis of representation instead of the town system desired by the Connecticut valley towns. Owing also to the peculiar power delegated to the convention, under which it resolved itself into the first House of Representatives or Assembly under the constitution which it had adopted, and to the further fact that the constitution empowered such first Assembly to prescribe the composition of its successor, this system was entailed upon all future Assemblies until the constitution could be changed. The Cheshire and Grafton county towns saw in this their own complete subjection to the more populous towns in the eastern part of the province. In their belief, the right of representation inhered in the very nature of a town. The charters of Massachusetts and Connecticut tacitly recognized that right, and what were those charters but voluntary grants of liberties such as New Hampshire had now seized upon in even larger degree? The complaint was, not that large towns had a larger representation than small ones, but that the small towns, as such, had no representation at all. A system which would have given to every town, however small, at least one representative, with a ratio of increase according to population, would have been entirely acceptable to them. Still, at the time of the College Hall convention, a "foundation of Civil Government within and for the colony" had certainly been laid, and all the *people* in the colony had participated in the work. The new government was in the full exercise of all its functions, and there could apparently be no just grounds for denying its authority. Still, as we shall see, this College Hall address had the effect of drawing away from it a larger number of the Cheshire and Grafton county towns, and arousing a spirit of discontent in the Connecticut valley, which continued to harass and disturb the public peace for more than six years.

The address put forth as its ostensible object the destruction of the work of the Exeter party, and the erection of a new government upon its ruins. But from the orderly course of the measures which succeeded this first step, there is abundant rea-

son to believe that the college party, even then, were aiming at nothing less than to carry over all the Wentworth Grants east of the river, into union with those on the west side, and to form the whole, or at least all east of the Green mountains, into a new state with its seat of government at or near the college.

The authors of the address appreciated the difficulties which lay in their way, and proceeded by adroit and forcible arguments to overcome them. To the objection that the people had already established a government, it was answered that the Assembly which then existed and which had framed that government, had been elected before the Declaration of Independence, and was only expected "to act in the exigencies of the colony, under their distressed and difficult circumstances, as the case might require; and that no one thought at the time, that they were appointed to institute a plan of civil government; especially independent of, and in contradistinction to the crown of Great Britain; therefore they were not elected for that purpose, and have not the power that an Assembly ought now to have." This argument was just. For the precepts sent into the towns and calling for the election of members to the Congress which framed the constitution, had not in terms certainly, if by implication, given notice of such a purpose. According to the precepts, the members to be elected were "to sit in Congress as often and as long as they shall judge requisite for acting on the public business of this colony; and to be empowered by their constituents to prosecute such measures as they may deem necessary for the public good, during the term of one year from their first meeting, unless they shall see fit to dissolve themselves sooner. And in case there should be a recommendation from the Continental Congress for this colony to assume government in any way that will require a House of Representatives, that then said Congress for this colony be empowered to resolve itself into such a House as may be recommended, and remain such for the aforesaid term of one year." This form of precept was prescribed by the Provincial Congress before the recommendation of the Continental Congress to establish a frame of government had been received at Exeter; but the form was not changed afterward. It is more

than probable, however, that the recommendation of the Continental Congress accompanied the precepts as they were sent out. The known dissatisfaction with the plan of representation was then adverted to, and arguments of great length and ingenuity advanced to aggravate the discontent. The inalienable right of every town to be represented, as such, in the legislative body, was reiterated with the greatest stress and in every possible form of expression. The opponents of this doctrine were stigmatized as rank tories, and the plan adopted as worse than no representation at all. "If this principle must take place," says the address, "we had better lay down our arms and spend no more precious blood and treasure in the contest; for it is only destroying with one hand, and setting up the same thing, or that which is worse, with the other. They who will tamely submit to such a government as this, deserve not a habitation among a free people." Bold and uncompromising as was the stand thus taken, there was yet reserved the even more daring declaration, that however reasonable in theory the Exeter plan might be, yet the whole power of the state was not adequate to deprive a single town of its right of representation without its consent. Underlying this declaration, we may clearly discover the theory of the college statesmen, that the state, so far as the Wentworth Grants might enter into it, could only be a voluntary confederation of towns,—a doctrine distinctly enunciated by them at a later stage of the controversy.

There was no shrinking from the logical conclusion to which this line of argument conducted. It was frankly questioned whether a town deprived of its representation in the legislative body was in any way bound by what that body might do. Resistance to the Exeter government was declared to be of a piece with resistance to Great Britain. In conclusion, the towns in whose behalf the address was issued were made to say, "As for ourselves, we are determined not to spend our blood and treasure in defending against the chains and fetters that are forged for us abroad, in order to purchase some of a like kind of our own manufacturing; but mean to hold them both alike detestable." Other towns concurring in the sentiments of the address,

were requested to communicate with Bezaleel Woodward, "clerk of the United Committees;" from which it would seem that a permanent organization was effected, as well as from the further fact that the convention adjourned to meet again in the College Hall, on the second Thursday of October following.

The only persons who are certainly known to have acted in the College Hall convention are Nehemiah Esterbrook of Lebanon, and Bezaleel Woodward of Hanover, who signed the address respectively as chairman and clerk. Nor can the authorship of the address be satisfactorily determined. But there is strong ground for the belief that it was the production of Woodward, who was then a tutor and afterwards a professor in the college, or of Col. Elisha Payne of Cardigan, a trustee and afterwards treasurer of the college, or possibly of both. That it was penned by a lawyer is certain from the accurate knowledge of the law which it displays. Woodward and Payne were lawyers of recognized ability, Payne having just been appointed by the Exeter government one of the four judges of its Court of Appeals, and becoming in 1781 Chief Justice of Vermont, while Woodward also, in 1778, was appointed one of the five judges of the supreme court of Vermont as then constituted. They were the known authors of much of the literature of the college party in which the later phases of the controversy abounded; and the marked correspondence in style and manner of treatment between this and their known productions, raises a strong probability that they were the authors of this also. They, with Col. John Wheelock, then a tutor and soon after president of the college, were perhaps the three ablest members of their party. They were certainly the first to urge the formation of a new state out of the Grants on both sides of the river, and continued to the end the strongest partisans of the scheme.

The immediate effect of the address was that all the Grafton and a considerable number of Cheshire county towns refused to send representatives to the new Assembly summoned to meet at Exeter on the 18th of December. The precepts for the election, which were sent out in September, were generally returned by these towns with their action thereon;—the reasons assigned for

non-compliance being substantially the objections to the plan of government as set forth in the address, some of them urging also that the recommendation of the Continental Congress that "a full and free representation of the people" be called, had not been followed, and that the proceedings at Exeter were therefore void. The language employed by the towns in these returns was less scholarly and philosophical than that of the address, but far more vigorous and picturesque; the town of Chesterfield, for instance, declaring "it is our opinion that the state of New Hampshire, instead of forming an equitable plan of government conducing to the peace and safety of the state, have been influenced by the iniquitous intrigues and secret designations [designs?] of persons unfriendly, to settle down upon the dregs of monarchical and aristocratical tyranny, in imitation of their late British oppressor."

Mesheek Weare, President of the Council of New Hampshire, in transmitting a copy of the address to the New Hampshire delegates in Congress about this time, writes thus of its disturbing effect: "I enclose you an address of several towns in the county of Grafton to the people at large (fabricated, I suppose at Dartmouth College), and calculated to stir up contention and animosities among us at this difficult time; especially as our government is only temporary and the state of matters not allowing a revisal. However, this pamphlet, with the assiduity of the college gentlemen, has had such an effect that almost the whole county of Grafton, if not the whole, have refused to send members to the new assembly." The Exeter government issued a conciliatory address to the disaffected towns, sent a committee of the legislature to inquire into their grievances, and in every way, short of acceding to their demand for a new constitutional convention, sought to bring them back to their allegiance. But all efforts failed. They withheld their quota of tax, to the no small embarrassment of the Exeter authorities, and in all possible ways manifested their disregard of the new government.

The college party having thus detached upwards of forty towns from the Exeter government, the next step was to carry

them over into union with those on the west side of the river. Accordingly negotiations to that end were at once entered upon, the nature of which, however, can only be conjectured from the course of events which followed. Ira Allen, writing as the agent of Vermont to the Exeter government, November 4, 1778, observes: "The first movement to form the state of Vermont was from the west side of the Green mountains; in consequence of which several committees were sent to the counties of Cumberland and Gloucester to see if the people there would unite with the people on the west side of the mountains to make one body politic. About two years ago Col. John Wheelock, being apprised of that movement, went to the town of Norwich, where one of said committees were, and proposed to them for a number of towns on the east side of the river to unite with those towns on the west side of the river; but was answered by said committee, that they were not acquainted with the situation of New Hampshire, therefore, they should do nothing about it." Wheelock's mission, here referred to, must have been before the reassembling of the Westminster convention on the 15th of January, 1777; and it is altogether probable that it resulted in some secret understanding that the Grafton and Gloucester county towns were not to be permanently disunited; for the latter now yielded to the solicitations of the Bennington party, and sent a strong delegation to Westminster in January, which joined without demur in the declaration there put forth, that the Grants *west of the river* "be a new and separate state." Subsequent events make it sufficiently clear that this sudden change of policy was not brought about by a revolution of sentiment in those towns. They were never less willing to be separated from the Grafton county towns than at this very time. Considering what followed in the near future, the most satisfactory explanation of their course would seem to be, that both parties were agreed, for prudential reasons, to postpone the union till such time as the new state proposed by the Bennington party should be sufficiently organized to deal with New Hampshire in such opposition as that state might be expected to make; while the ulterior design of the college leaders to

unite, eventually, all the Grants east of the river with those on the west side, and thus, by overbalancing the Bennington influence, to bring the seat of government of the new state to the Connecticut valley, in the same spirit of prudence, was probably kept in the background. At this January session of the Westminster convention, delegates were appointed to convey its Declaration of Independence to Congress, along with a petition for representation in that body on an equality with the other states. The opposition of New York and the consequent halting policy of Congress, kept the matter in abeyance, and furnished opportunity for the next move of the college party.

The Westminster convention met again, by adjournment, at Windsor on the 4th of June, 1777, when it settled upon the name of Vermont for the new state, rejecting that of New Connecticut, which had also been proposed, appointed a committee to draft a constitution, and called a new convention to meet at Windsor on the 2nd of July following to act upon it. The news of Burgoyne's advance and capture of Ticonderoga interrupted this latter convention very soon after it assembled; and, measures of defense being deemed of more pressing importance, the constitution was adopted substantially as reported by the committee, and the convention hastily broke up, with the understanding that its work was to be revised at an adjourned meeting in December. The constitution having been perfected at the next session of the convention, the first election of officers under it was held on the 4th of March, 1778, and the state government fully organized on the 12th of the same month at Windsor.

Meanwhile, complications were thickening, which at this distance well nigh baffle the understanding. The leaders of the Bennington party, now dominant in all the affairs of Vermont, viewed with uneasiness the designs of the college party, which had now become manifest, and the plain disposition of the influential towns in Gloucester county to unite their fortunes with the New Hampshire towns opposite. The college statesmen also, may have begun to realize at this time, that the aggressive energy of Ethan and Ira Allen, who dominated the Bennington

party, was likely, in those stirring times, to raise that party to a permanent ascendancy in Vermont, as well as to carry the capital west of the mountains. The Exeter government, after striving for more than a year to arrest the defection in Grafton and Cheshire, was at last driven to the only measure that held out any hope of success. The assembly which convened in December, 1777, finding the disaffected towns still unrepresented, voted that the people should, at the next election, if they saw fit, instruct their representatives to call a constitutional convention, to be chosen by a full and free vote, to convene for the sole purpose of establishing a permanent plan of government. This concession tended greatly to weaken the hold of the college leaders upon the people, and to enhance the difficulties under which they were already laboring. In this emergency they resorted again to the printing press, and issued early in January, 1778, another pamphlet letter, signed "Republican," containing a masterly argument in support of the right of the Grants on both sides of the river to unite under one government, as well as the plain expediency of their doing so.

This argument, manifestly from the same pen as the College Hall address, was so skillfully framed as to apply with equal force either to a union of the east-side Grants with Vermont, or to a new confederation apart from that state, and either dismembering or perhaps merging it entirely. A comparison of the vague and conflicting grants to the Duke of York, and to the Council of Plymouth was gone into, from which it was made to appear, with some degree of plausibility at least, that originally the jurisdiction of New York extended eastward no farther than the line twenty miles beyond the Hudson, citing in proof, the success of Connecticut and Massachusetts in confining New York to that line. The obvious distinction between the Wentworth town grants and the ancient province of New Hampshire, as circumscribed within the Mason line, was made the basis of the argument against the jurisdiction claimed by the Exeter government. Governor Wentworth's commission of 1741, giving him jurisdiction beyond the Mason line, and the royal decree of 1764 limiting the jurisdiction of New York on the Connecticut river,

were both dismissed as arbitrary acts, powerless to project their consequences beyond the era when the authority behind them ceased to operate. The compulsion by which those respective jurisdictions had alone been maintained, ceased with the Declaration of Independence, leaving the people from the Mason line to Lake Champlain "in a state of nature," as to government, except that they were, by their town charters, united into little republics, which had survived the separation from Great Britain. These towns were now entirely independent of each other, independent of the Mason Grant and of New York, of the Continental Congress and of Great Britain; free to remain so, to confederate together, or to ally themselves with other political bodies at their pleasure. The Exeter government was deemed to have virtually conceded its own illegitimacy by yielding to the demand of the College Hall convention; while the Windsor constitution had not yet received the assent of the people west of the river by their establishing a government under it, which, it may be said here, was the only way in which they ever did assent to it, as it was never submitted to them directly. Thus, it was claimed, was the right of the Grants on both sides of the river to form themselves into a new state, still open to them. The expediency of their uniting in one body politic, at least those of them east of the Green mountains, was made equally apparent. Their local situation, their long and intimate association, their community of interest, and their unity of religious and political sentiment needed only to be recalled to awaken an ardent desire for such a political union. The suggestions contained in this pamphlet led to immediate practical measures of the utmost gravity and importance.

The body which met in College Hall on the 31st of July, 1776, and issued the famous address, had never been dissolved. Under the name of the UNITED COMMITTEES OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS it continued to hold meetings, to circulate pamphlets, and in other ways industriously to disseminate the doctrine that a union of all the Grants under one government was a matter of prime political necessity. None but the most scanty records of its doings are now known to exist; but on the

28th of January, 1778, it assembled by adjournment at the house of Col. Israel Morey in Orford, and among other things, recommended to the disaffected towns to show their devotion to the cause of the colonies by raising their respective proportions of the taxes called for by the Exeter government and by the Continental Congress, for that year; but to hold the same in their respective treasuries to be applied by the towns in their sovereign capacities, in measures for the common defense, free from the control of any external authority whatever, and the recommendation appears to have been pretty generally followed, at least by the Grafton county towns. The next meeting of which there is any record was held on the 12th of February, 1778, at the house of Moses Chase in Cornish, one month before the meeting of the first Legislature of Vermont at Windsor. The eleven towns which formed the original constituency of this body, had now been joined by Cornish, Piermont, Lyman, Apthorp (now Littleton and Dalton), Gunthwaite (now Lisbon) and Morristown (now Franconia). For prudential reasons, as it would seem, none of the towns west of the river had yet been represented in the UNITED COMMITTEES; but that many of them were not consenting to a separation from their east-side friends, soon became apparent. All that is certainly known about this Cornish session of the COMMITTEES is the time and place of meeting, and the fact that it was called "to confer upon matters of importance." But it is altogether probable that it arranged the details of the scheme which was presented to the Legislature of Vermont a month later, for uniting with that state all the New Hampshire towns outside the Mason Grant.

On the 12th of March, 1778, the first Legislature of Vermont met at Windsor, and the new state government was formally organized. Promptly on the first day of the session a delegation from the UNITED COMMITTEES, that body being conveniently assembled at Cornish, on the opposite side of the river, came over to propose that Vermont take into union with her the sixteen New Hampshire towns then represented in the COMMITTEES and all others on the Grants east of the river that might be desirous of such a union. This proposition was received with surprise

and disfavor by the Bennington party, and was at first rejected by a decisive vote. Whereupon the Gloucester county members threatened to withdraw and unite with the east side towns in forming a new state. With a view to gain time, and provide a possible way of escape from so serious a dilemma, the matter was finally referred to the people of Vermont for their determination. Of the forty-seven towns whose vote was returned, thirty-five favored the union and twelve opposed. The Bennington leaders, however, claimed that the towns had voted under a misapprehension that New Hampshire was indifferent to the movement, and that the college party had willfully misrepresented the attitude of the Exeter government. The opposition came naturally from the Bennington party, who were, however, at an unusual disadvantage at this important juncture, from the fact, that most of the towns west of the mountains and north of the southern extremity of Lake Champlain had been abandoned by their inhabitants at the time of Burgoyne's advance the year before, and were now neither represented in the legislature nor in a situation to vote upon the union. Besides, it is important to observe, it was not the direct vote of the people, but the vote by towns, that was regarded in deciding the question.

Accordingly at the next session of the legislature, held at Bennington on the 4th of June, the sixteen towns were formally admitted into Vermont and invested with all the powers and privileges of the other towns in that state; provision being made at the same time for the admission of such other towns east of the river as might desire it, upon the same terms. The college, also, on petition of the trustees, was taken under the protection of Vermont, and President Wheelock appointed a justice of the peace. During the interval between this and the October session of the legislature, most of the Grafton and a few of the Cheshire county towns accepted the Act of Union, and declared themselves confederated with Vermont. During the same interval, however, the Exeter government issued its precepts for the election of members to its third General Assembly, containing a direction to the people to instruct the said Assembly, if they saw fit, through the representatives whom they should

choose, to call a new constitutional convention. Many of the disaffected towns were disposed to look with favor upon this concession, and to await further developments before casting in their lot with Vermont; holding aloof from both states meanwhile, and recognizing no external authority whatever. It thus happened that only ten of them sent representatives to the Vermont legislature in October. But among these representatives were most of the leading spirits of the college party east of the river; and it is probable that, but for the untoward and unlooked for events which soon followed, they would have succeeded in carrying over to Vermont most of the towns outside the Mason line, and then, by sheer weight of numbers, have brought the seat of government to the banks of the Connecticut, and secured for themselves that ascendancy in public affairs which they felt their abilities entitled them to;—especially as the people of New Hampshire rejected by an overwhelming majority the new constitution, framed and submitted to them a few months later.

The UNITED COMMITTEES met again on the 24th of June at Colonel Morey's in Orford, and recommended to the towns that had united with Vermont to strictly obey all military orders emanating from that state, but at the same time to heed, as far as might be, the wishes of the continental officers, as well as to co-operate with the New Hampshire militia in all matters pertaining to the common defense. Various other recommendations were passed looking to the proper adjustment of the towns to their new relations, and a letter dispatched to the Exeter government announcing the separation and bespeaking a continuance of the amicable relations then subsisting between the two states.

So many powerful influences now combined to oppose the progress of this scheme, that the college party were speedily thrown back upon their original plan of a state distinct from both Vermont and New Hampshire. The Exeter government threatened to coerce the seceding towns into a return to their allegiance, invoked the interference of Congress, and sent to Vermont alternate protests and appeals. The Bennington lead-

ers, well pleased with this demonstration, prevailed upon Governor Chittenden to dispatch Gen. Ethan Allen upon a semi-official mission to Philadelphia, to ascertain the feeling in Congress in regard to the matter. Both Allen and Chittenden had opposed the annexation of the New Hampshire towns, and the adherents of the college party in Vermont afterwards charged that Allen's mission was to influence Congress against that measure rather than to judge of the temper with which that body regarded it. Allen arrived in Philadelphia on the 19th of September, and according to the account which he brought back, his timely presence saved Vermont from summary annihilation. The New York and New Hampshire delegates having made common cause against the new state, the whole power of the Confederation was about to be launched against it. By active and energetic lobbying among the members, for he does not appear to have had a hearing before Congress, he procured a postponement of the matter, meanwhile entering into a formal compact with the New Hampshire delegates, stipulating that he should use his influence to bring about a dissolution of the union with the New Hampshire towns, and, that result being accomplished, that the New Hampshire delegates should break with New York and assist Vermont in procuring the recognition of Congress. Hurrying home, Allen made a formal report to the legislature, which had been convened at Windsor on the 8th of October, representing in the most positive manner that Congress was ready to concede the independence of Vermont, provided no claim was laid to jurisdiction east of the river; but if that claim were not abandoned at once, New York would be supported in her claims to the banks of the Connecticut.

The college party, however, were now so far in the ascendant in the lower branch that they had been able to elect for clerk Professor Woodward, who sat for Dresden, the college district, and to carry through a resolve declaring it to be the right of all the Grants west of the Mason line to unite under one government despite New Hampshire or New York, or even the Confederation, and proposing to the Exeter government a plan for estab-

lishing the boundary between New Hampshire and the proposed eastern extension of Vermont. But, although this assertion of abstract right was carried on the 20th of October, and although the Bennington party had failed in an attempt to dissolve the union with the New Hampshire towns, still when the college party brought forward on the next day the simple, practical measure of erecting those towns into a county, or of annexing them to an existing county, the measure was defeated; the sentiment of fear aroused by Allen's report operating upon the minds of a sufficient number of members to give the Bennington party a temporary majority. The New Hampshire towns being thus practically denied the "same privileges and immunities enjoyed by the other towns in the state," as guaranteed by the Act of Union, their representatives immediately withdrew, followed by the members from ten Vermont towns in the vicinity of the college, by two members of the Council, Thomas Murdock and Col. Peter Olcott, and the lieutenant governor, Joseph Marsh, comprising thus very nearly a majority of the legislature. These assembling by themselves on the 22d of October, laid before the legislature a solemn protest against its action of the 21st, declaring it to be an entire subversion and destruction of the constitution, and a total absolution, not only of the New Hampshire towns, but of all the others as well, from the bonds of confederation by which they had been held together as one state. This view will appear less strange when it is remembered that the constitution had gone into operation upon its adoption by the convention which framed it, without being submitted to the people. This was deemed sufficient by the statesmen of that day, until doubts having arisen in 1779, the legislature of that year thought to set the matter at rest by formally enacting the constitution among the laws passed at the February session. It is also to be borne in mind that at the college as well as at Bennington, the state was not regarded as a direct union of the people regardless of their town incorporations, but as a confederation of towns, to which, primarily, the people in each owed allegiance, and through which alone they were related to the state.

These "Protesting Members," who now represented the college party with greater distinctness than it had ever before assumed, at once formed themselves into a cohesive body, after the manner of the UNITED COMMITTEES of 1776, Governor Marsh being chosen chairman, and Professor Woodward clerk, with the definite and avowed purpose of inducing Vermont, if possible, to rehabilitate itself (a singular inconsistency), by rescinding the vote of October 21, or, failing in that, of returning to the New Connecticut scheme. To this end they called a convention to meet at Cornish on the 9th of December, 1778, to which all the towns on the Grants were invited to send delegates.

Out of the confused state of parties at this time, and the conflicting statements made by the adherents of each, it is difficult to arrive at a clear understanding of what actually occurred during the next few months, except that an angry war of words was carried on, by means of pamphlets and hand-bills principally, in which the college party evinced the greater skill, and their adversaries the greater activity.

The address of "Republican," issued early in the year, had had so wide a circulation and so powerful an influence in determining the course of affairs, that the Exeter government deemed it wise to resort to the same weapons as an effective method of dealing with the questions at issue. Accordingly a semi-official reply was printed and sent into the disaffected towns, as well as throughout the whole of Vermont. This reply, signed "Pacificus," is believed to be from the pen of Timothy Walker, then a member of the Council of New Hampshire. Its crowning merit was its well-directed effort to correct the erroneous belief so assiduously cultivated by the college party, that the Grants east of the Connecticut were not connected with New Hampshire since the Declaration of Independence. While tacitly admitting that the lapse of the royal government in the province had left those towns without any political connection with the Mason Grant, or with each other, there being no charter to bind them together, as in the other New England colonies, it demonstrated with force and acumen that their voluntary united action with the rest of the province in the Exeter Con-

gress of 1775, which elected delegates to the Continental Congress that declared the independence of the colonies, was a solemn political compact, in no way affected by the separation from Great Britain, and of such binding force that not only New Hampshire, but the Confederation, would be bound to resist its infraction. The temper and spirit of the controversy, as well as the recognition of its broad bearings, are somewhat shown in this passage:—"If the principle which this author (Republican) lays down, and which is the basis of his whole superstructure (viz. that the Declaration of Independence dissolves all political relations and connections), be admitted, as not only true in theory, but also carried into practice, by this single blow of the clumsy fist of this dabbler in politics, the glorious fabric of American Independence will be laid prostrate, jumbled into a huge heap of sand, without any cement to hold it together."

The force of the really able paper of "Pacificus" was much weakened, however, by its ill-judged attacks upon the character and motives of the college leaders. The author did not scruple to assail those able and patriotic men, nearly every one of whom subsequently reached stations of the very highest honor and responsibility in New Hampshire and Vermont, as "ignorant," "selfish," and even "malignant;" while the many substantial merits of their really beneficent scheme were sought to be buried under clouds of aspersion like this: "The disappointments of a small junta of aspiring, avaricious men, in their endeavors to raise themselves and their connections to a degree of importance in the State, far, very far, beyond what their numbers or their estates give them any pretense to, is the source of all this feud." It will be shown that both President Weare and General Allen, likewise found it necessary to impugn the motives of these men in language even more forcible and direct,—a significant proof of the pertinacity and force, at least, with which the college side of the controversy was conducted.

Vermont, it is to be remembered, had not formally dissolved the union with the New Hampshire towns, nor indeed directly impaired it in any way; the claim of the Protesting Members to the contrary, notwithstanding. By a bare majority of the leg-

islature, a specific measure looking to the convenience of those towns in a matter of administration, had been rejected. They were still at liberty at any time to resume the relations which they themselves and they only had severed. But the Bennington party now left in full control in Vermont, found it convenient also to treat the equivocal affair of the 21st of October, as in some sense a dissolution; although the whole matter of the union had been again referred to the people for reconsideration, after the withdrawal of the Protesting Members, and had not yet been acted upon by them. Ethan Allen was again appointed agent to repair to Congress and defend the independence of the state. It is probable that he found himself restricted to unofficial communications to the delegates, as the journals of Congress are silent upon this subject, until June, 1779; but the scope of his mission, as well as the views of his party at this time, are sufficiently indicated in a letter which he wrote to President Weare, on the 23d of October, announcing his appointment, wherein he recites his engagement with the New Hampshire delegates, on the occasion of his former mission to Philadelphia, affirms that his part of the bargain has been fulfilled, in that the union with the New Hampshire towns has been dissolved, and calls upon New Hampshire to accede to the independence of Vermont, according to agreement. Governor Chittenden, writing to President Weare, on the same day, was more diplomatic and scrupulous than Allen, but even he seems to have strained a point in representing that, his legislature had resolved "that no additional exercise of jurisdictional authority be had east of Connecticut river, for the time being;" which was certainly a forced interpretation of the vote of October 21st. The Exeter government, however, detected the equivocal nature of this disclaimer, betokening as it did a dangerous reservation, and insisted upon an explicit renunciation of all *claim* to such jurisdiction.

Meanwhile the college party contended with zeal and intelligence against the two-fold opposition of New Hampshire and Vermont, notwithstanding the embarrassment which the want of a definite plan of operations imposed upon them. The con-

vention of the Protesting Members, now the recognized exponent of the party, promptly on the 23d of October, dispatched Colonel Wheelock to Philadelphia to counteract the influence of Allen, and to prevent, if possible, the recognition of Vermont with its eastern boundary at the river, which action was then believed by all parties to be imminent. Wheelock bore an official letter from the convention, addressed to the President of Congress, in which there was a clear assumption of authority, scarcely less respectable than could be claimed by the government of Vermont, and which undoubtedly went far to unsettle any purpose which Congress might have had at the time to recognize the independence of that state. Precisely what measure of authority, if any, was ever delegated to the body which accredited Wheelock, cannot now be determined. The body was in a sense, it may be said, oligarchical. Its course seems to have been to act of its own motion in most cases, and to ask the ratification of its constituency afterwards. At all events, it commanded the confidence of the people whom it claimed to represent, to a degree that gave to its acts and utterances the full semblance of authority, if not the reality.

Before the affair which occasioned the withdrawal of the Protesting Members, the Vermont legislature had appointed a joint committee of five members of the Council and Assembly, to prepare a defense of the right of the Grants on both sides of the river to unite under one government. This being a measure of the college party, they of course secured a majority of the committee, and the legislature having adjourned without rescinding its action, this majority, consisting of Professor Woodward, General Jacob Bailey of Newbury, a member of the Council, and Colonel Elisha Payne of Cardigan, a trustee of the college, although they had withdrawn with the Protesting Members, took advantage of their appointment on the committee to issue, in the name of all the Grants, an elaborate and exhaustive PUBLIC DEFENSE, in pursuance of the instructions given the committee; a clever piece of political strategy, which the college party sought to justify under the plea that the tortuous policy of their adversaries compelled them to it.

The PUBLIC DEFENSE appeared shortly before the assembling of the convention which had been called to meet at Cornish on the 9th of December, 1778. It is the fullest exposition extant of the state of the controversy, at this time, in all its bearings; and aside from its special application, deserves high rank among the able state papers of the period, in its discussion of the fundamental principles of free government, which the statesmen of that day were laboring to put into practice in the colonies. It drew in sharpest outline the distinction between the charter governments of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and the government by royal commission merely, which had been exercised in New Hampshire; for on this distinction had the college party, from the beginning, grounded the right of the Grants to part company with old New Hampshire, as circumscribed by the Mason Line. Accordingly, to President Weare's assertion that the seceding towns, and others on the Grants, could no more claim to be unconnected with any state than could Hartford or Boston, the DEFENSE made answer, that "every individual inhabitant, and consequently every town, in the state of Connecticut, by charter, make up the Governor and Company of that colony or state; and that, by the same Grant or Charter, they hold all their landed property, as much as any body of proprietors of a township or tract of land. And by the same Charter they were made a Body Politic in name and fact. And in holding this Charter sacred, they hold themselves indissolubly connected together. Which bond of union must remain, so long as the state exists. There never has been, nor does there need to be, any alteration of the mode of government in that state to comport with a state of independence, except the transposition of the name in which the executive power is exercised, from the King to the People. In the same way and manner are the people in Massachusetts held together and united by Grants and Charters from the King, conferring both landed property and jurisdiction; which the King could not constitutionally alter, and which the people still hold sacred; and therefore hold themselves connected together as much as Connecticut. Now wherein does New Hampshire compare with

those two states? New Hampshire, as such, never owned an inch of land, or farthing of property; neither could they even so much as grant a town incorporation; nor had they right to a voice in the matter. In short, *they never were a Body Politic in any legal sense whatever*; nor anything more than a number of people subjected to the obedience of the King's servant (the Governor), in such way as his Commission prescribed. * * * * When the King's authority was thrown off by the Declaration of Independence, the Royal Commission became a mere nullity; for it contained nothing more than a positive command to the magistrate therein named to govern, and a command to the people to obey. Nothing was contained in it reciprocal between the King and people; nothing that the people could claim as a grant or benefit; but it rested wholly in the pleasure of the Crown. * * * * When the power of the King was rejected, and ceased to operate, the people made a stand at their first legal stage, viz., their town incorporations, which they had received from the King as little Grants or Charters of privileges; by which they were united in little incorporated bodies, with certain powers and privileges, which were not held at the pleasure of the King, but were perpetual. * * * * These are all the Grants the people ever had from the King whereby they became united together and could hold against the King. Consequently, *they will remain so many distinct corporations until they agree to unite in one aggregate body * * * * as much as the thirteen United States were before they entered into a Confederacy*. Nay, they never were at liberty to unite together, or not unite, until that despotic power which alone held them together, was thrown off; which was done by the Declaration of Independence."

As to the Grants having participated in the formation of the Exeter government, it was answered that that government had been entered upon only as a temporary make-shift, before the separation from Great Britain, and could in no sense be regarded as a permanent bond now that the authority of the Crown has ceased. These arguments apparently left little to be said upon the question of right; while upon the score of ex-

pediency, the allusions, which followed, to the local situation of the people on the two sides of the river, their long and intimate connection and intercourse with each other, their conformity in manners and customs, as well as in political and religious sentiment, in all which they differed radically from the people on the Mason Grant, were equally well calculated to strengthen the cause of the college party; and the college itself was made to contribute to this strength by being adverted to with affectionate reverence as an inestimable blessing, towards which New Hampshire, as such, had shown a "very cool disposition," which, it was said, would be likely to continue, "principally, perhaps, on account of its situation."

The growing intensity of the controversy is manifest in the sharp arraignment of Ethan Allen at the close of the DEFENSE for his conduct in bargaining away the east side towns for the support of New Hampshire against the claims of New York in Congress; conduct which the DEFENSE stigmatized as "savoring too much of intrigue and bribery," and as being "derogatory to the honor and integrity of Congress, which ought to stand in the highest and fairest point of view." This dignified rebuke is, perhaps, the nearest approach to a personal attack, on the part of the college leaders, that the literature of the contest reveals, if we except an occasional reference to the Bennington chiefs as the "New Statesmen," a term of contempt evidently borrowed from the vocabulary of contemporary political warfare in England. The other parties, on the contrary, resorted freely to personal invective at every stage. Ethan Allen, referring to the New Connecticut project at this time, declares that "the heads of the Schism at large are a Petulent, Pettefoging, Scribbling sort of Gentry, that will keep any Government in hot water, till they are Thoroughly brought under by the Exertions of authority;" while his brother Ira characterizes them as "a few Restless, Uneasy men, not having the good of either of the States at Heart, but their own private interest and Immolliment;" and President Weare, writing to Governor Chittenden, can find no milder language in which to speak of their scheme than "the blind designs of some uneasy and never-to-be contented

persons, whose views must certainly be more detrimental to you than they possibly can be to New Hampshire." The DEFENSE concluded with the alternative propositions, either to unite all the Grants in a new state, or to annex the whole to New Hampshire; either of which measures would be likely to bring the seat of government into the Connecticut valley, and thus realize the hopes of the college party. This alternative became the basis of the definite action which speedily followed, and will therefore be better understood as our account proceeds.

At length the day arrived for the assembling of the Cornish convention of the 9th of December, which had been widely advertised by hand-bills circulated throughout all the Grants. Eight Vermont and fourteen New Hampshire towns, the most considerable in Gloucester and Grafton counties, sent delegates; and the body organized with Governor Marsh as chairman, and Professor Woodward as clerk. Although the towns represented were not numerous, nor yet contiguous in point of territory, they were the most populous and influential in the two counties, and were doubtless relied upon to sweep in their weaker and more apathetic neighbors. It is by no means safe to measure the strength of the college party on the west side of the river by the meagerness of its representation in the Cornish convention; for out of thirty or more towns then incorporated in Gloucester county, only two were represented in the Vermont legislature at its session held next after the withdrawal of the Protesting Members; although by the constitution each town was required to send a representative. The same observation applies to the east side; for at this time only a small minority of the towns in the north-western part of New Hampshire were represented in the Exeter Assembly, and those chiefly to remonstrate against the plan of government which was being pursued. This apathy sets out in strong light the absence of enlarged views of government among the people of the Grants, consequent upon the exaggerated importance which they attached to the principle of town autonomy.

The minutes of the Cornish convention have not been preserved; but there remains a series of resolves adopted by it,

which undoubtedly may be relied upon as outlining pretty accurately its work, as well as indicating with substantial clearness the line of action now decided upon by the college party. These were in substance: 1. The unqualified rejection of the line of the river as a boundary between separate jurisdictions; 2. The approval of the sentiments contained in the PUBLIC DEFENSE, and the adoption of its principles as the guide for future action; 3. That the affair of the 21st of October should be taken as the effectual destruction of the Windsor constitution, involving the dissolution of the confederation of towns called Vermont, and the discharge of the people and towns from all allegiance to that confederation, unless the said affair should be promptly repudiated by the towns still claiming to constitute that state; 4. That the Vermont towns not represented in the convention be requested to join it in proposals to New Hampshire for the settlement of the boundary between that state and the Grants, at or near the Mason line; 5. If the Vermont towns will not agree to this, then that efforts be made to induce New Hampshire to claim jurisdiction over all the Grants, *provided*, that state will adopt a plan of government suited to the views of the people on said Grants. But more significant, under the circumstances, than these explicit resolves, was the declaration attributed to the convention, that, until one or the other of these proposals should be accepted, the "UNITED TOWNS," as they styled themselves, "would trust in Providence and defend themselves." An executive committee, consisting of Governor Marsh, Professor Woodward, Colonel Payne, Colonel Olcott, General Bailey, Colonel Morey and Major Jonathan Child of Lyme, was appointed and invested with plenary power to pursue the measures resolved upon, and to call future conventions whenever it should be thought advisable.

It is plain that the college party at this time contemplated nothing less than the complete destruction of Vermont as organized under the Windsor constitution. The Bennington party so interpreted the action of the Cornish convention, and took prompt and energetic measures to thwart the design. Ira Allen wrote immediately to President Weare, assuring him that

the union with the New Hampshire towns would be formally dissolved at the next session of the Vermont legislature, and warning him that any attempt by New Hampshire to extend her jurisdiction west of the river would meet with the most determined resistance of Vermont. He published at the same time a temperate and statesman-like address to the people of his state, recounting the many reasons which should determine them to adhere to the government they had organized, and to confine its jurisdiction within the limits originally contemplated, viz: the Connecticut on the east and Lake Champlain on the west. The Cornish Committee, on the other hand, under the strong lead of Governor Marsh, exerted itself to the utmost that the towns which were still loyal to the Windsor constitution, should instruct the legislature at its approaching session to adhere to and perfect the union with the New Hampshire towns. But on the assembling of the legislature at Bennington, on the 11th of February, 1779, its instructions were found to be directly the contrary; and accordingly, on the second day of the session, the union was declared to be "totally void, null and extinct from the beginning," and the east side towns "of right, included within the jurisdiction of New Hampshire."

This outcome of course remitted the Cornish Committee to the alternative of urging New Hampshire to assert her ancient provincial boundary as before the royal decree of 1764, and claim jurisdiction over the whole of Vermont; and this was the next move, notwithstanding the college party had ever justified the secession of the sixteen towns, by denying that New Hampshire had any rightful jurisdiction westward of the Mason line, from the date of the Declaration of Independence. General Bailey and Captain Davenport Phelps were appointed to make the proposal; in conveying which to the Exeter government, on the 17th of March, 1779, these agents represented that the people generally on the Grants were desirous of a reunion with New Hampshire, a representation which must have been made without adequate knowledge, for it certainly was not confirmed by the test which was had shortly after. It is worthy of note also that the proposal made no mention of the express terms upon which alone

the Cornish convention had authorized it to be made, viz., that New Hampshire and the Grants should first agree upon a satisfactory plan of government.

The Exeter authorities received this proposal with becoming caution; referring it to a committee of the legislature who recommended on the 2d of April, that New Hampshire should lay claim to jurisdiction over the whole of the Grants; "allowing and conceding, nevertheless, that if the Honorable Continental Congress shall allow the said Grants to the westward of Connecticut river to be a separate state, as now claimed by some of the inhabitants thereof, by the name of Vermont, that in such case New Hampshire will acquiesce therein. And that this state shall exercise jurisdiction as far as the western bank of the Connecticut river, and no farther, until the dispute is settled by congress." This report was laid over for further information and consideration at the June session; the Cornish committee being requested to collect the sentiments of the people west of the river upon the question by a formal vote in the interim. Accordingly that committee sent into each of the Vermont towns a circular letter requesting a return thereon of the yeas and nays upon the question, also of the number of legal voters in each town, and the number in attendance at the meeting when the vote should be taken.

Vermont protested vehemently against this action, and dispatched Ira Allen to attend at Exeter in June to avert if possible this new peril. The Cornish committee also sent two of its members, Professor Woodward and Colonel Olcott, to further the proposal of March 17th, notwithstanding but a beggarly number of the Vermont towns had made any return of their vote upon the question,—a failure which Woodward and Olcott, at the hearing before the Exeter Assembly, attributed to emissaries of the Bennington party who, they claimed, had intercepted and destroyed great numbers of the circular letter. This charge, though strenuously denied, appears to have had some foundation in truth, aside from the fact that the practices of the Bennington leaders at this time were not such as to disarm suspicion of even more questionable acts. The moderate measure reported

in April was finally adopted by the legislature on the 24th of June, and a formal claim thus laid to the whole of Vermont; but only as against New York, it is to be observed, for the measure still left Vermont free to achieve her independence, if the consent of Congress could be gained, and other difficulties removed.

This result was virtually a defeat of the college party; and for a time, at least, it nearly dispelled their dream of a commonwealth whose institutions should be of their forming, whose power should reside in their hands, and whose destiny should be closely linked to the college and guided by its influence. Nevertheless, they took heart of hope, and the next year entered with spirit upon the new phase which the controversy had then assumed.

The importunities of New York and New Hampshire had moved Congress, about this time, to send a committee to the Grants to investigate and report, "with all convenient speed," upon the course proper to be pursued by that body. This committee having failed to perform the duty assigned to it, and doubts having arisen as to the authority of Congress in the premises, that body, on the 24th of September, 1779, requested those two states and Massachusetts, which had now come into the controversy to claim a part of the Grants, to confer upon it express authority to hear and determine the whole case; and invited all the claimants, together with the people on the Grants, to send agents to Philadelphia to represent them, on the 1st of February following, when a hearing was promised, and the faith of Congress pledged, not only to a final determination, but to the enforcement of its decision with all the power of the Confederation. The three claiming states, having conferred the necessary authority upon Congress, appeared by their agents on the appointed day. Vermont, however, now took the ground that she was not only independent of these three claimants, who, as Governor Chittenden declared, were seeking to partition her after the manner of Poland, but equally independent of Congress and the Confederation; and refused to send agents, or in any way submit to the jurisdiction of Congress in the matter. The college party discerned in this refusal an opportunity to gain an advantage, which they hastened to improve. The Corn-

ish Committee now deputed Professor Woodward and Colonel Olcott to attend at the hearing, in response to the invitation which Congress had extended to the "people on the Grants," by which invitation, of course, only Vermont had been intended. Accordingly, we find these two indefatigable leaders at Philadelphia, along with the other agents, in February, claiming, and justly claiming, it would seem, to represent "the greater part of the towns in the northern district of the New Hampshire Grants on both sides of the Connecticut river, and between the heights of land on the two sides;" and bearing credentials in due form, signed by Governor Marsh, "Chairman of the Committee of the United Towns." Congress, while refusing them full official recognition, yet allowed them to present a written argument against any division of the Grants into separate jurisdictions by the line of the river. This paper has not been preserved, and its contents are not now known; but it doubtless contained the well-considered views which had been so frequently and so forcibly advanced by the college party.

A sufficient number of states besides those interested, not being represented in Congress at the time appointed for the hearing, to enable it to act in a matter of this kind, according to the Articles of Confederation, it was postponed to such further time as a constitutional quorum of states should be present by their representatives. Meanwhile Congress, on the 2nd of June, commanded that the *status quo* be maintained pending the settlement; and particularly enjoined Vermont to abstain from all acts of authority over towns not acknowledging her right, and to cease granting new townships. Vermont paid no heed to this injunction; and on the 20th of July, the Cornish committee informed Congress of the fact in a letter, setting forth that the authorities of that state were engaged in a systematic course of bribery, whereby the support of influential men in New Hampshire was being purchased by enormous grants of land and other favors, that the minds of the people were being indoctrinated with the belief that Congress was conscious of its lack of authority in the matter, and that every other measure was being taken to destroy the salutary effect of its order of the

2nd of June. The letter closed with a patriotic appeal for a speedy determination of the question, and pledged the people for whom it spoke, to a cheerful acquiescence in the decision, whatever it might be, although expressing an ardent desire for a union of the towns upon both sides of the river upon some basis.

The anomalous condition of the Gloucester and Grafton county towns, dissevered as they were, from Vermont and New Hampshire respectively, and only loosely confederated for the single purpose of preventing a division at the river, had now continued so long that their people were in a chronic state of alarm and uncertainty, to allay which Governor Marsh's committee held frequent sessions at the college, and co-operated with the town authorities in measures for the common safety.

Although receiving no taxes from the disaffected towns, yet the Exeter government, in view of the proposal for a reunion which had been made, acceded to the request of their committee for aid, and sent considerable sums of money for the support of troops. Local militia officers assumed dictatorial powers, meeting with more or less resistance, but withal affording a much greater degree of security than was to be found elsewhere.* The sacking of Royalton in October, 1780, by a

* Col. Jonathan Chase of Cornish, a strong partisan of the college party, although holding a commission in the New Hampshire militia, having made a requisition on the Grafton county towns for men for the Continental service in obedience to orders from Exeter, received this quaint reply from Lebanon:

LEBANON, New Hampshire Grants, July 7, 1780.

Sir:—As this Town hath been Repeatedly Called Together on account of orders Rec'd from you for men for scouting and other service, &c., we haveing Collected the Sentiments of the Town with Regard to Raising men To stand Thus: that they acknowledge subordination to you as a Colo. of their own Choice and ever will obey you as Such, But at the same time think to obey you as haveing authorative Power from the State of New Hampshire is Derogatore To the Birth Rite of Englishmen, it Being a Tax Laid on us for men without being Represented, &c. Sir, we wish for the future you would be Pleased To send as a Request To us. We shall own the Power we Committed to you. We mean not To Set up an Allter in Diffiance To the Public Cause, & be Pleased, sir, to Excuse our simplicity and Except this with our Sincere obedience from your Humble Servants,

SIMEON PECK,
THEOP. HUNTINGTON, } *Selectmen.*
NATH'L STORRS.

TO COLO. JONA. CHASE, Cornish.

force of Canadians and Indians, coupled with startling disclosures that were occurring west of the mountains, threw the inhabitants of the valley into a frenzy of excitement, which lent a powerful impulse to the efforts of the college leaders for a settlement.

It had been discovered that certain of the Bennington leaders were in secret correspondence with the enemy at Quebec, having in view, as was believed, a union of Vermont with the King's dominions in Canada. Little was known, indeed, which would have sustained a charge of treason, but Ethan Allen in particular, was openly charged by the college party with the design of detaching Vermont from the American cause, and joining with the King's forces for the subjugation of the colonies. The discovery of the famous "Haldimand Correspondence," so called, which was carried on from 1779 to 1783, between parties in Vermont, New York and Canada, tends somewhat to confirm the suspicions which were rife at the time, that the desperation of the Bennington leaders was rapidly bearing them on to the full length of an open alliance with the common enemy.

In striking contrast with this defection, if not indeed prompted by a desire to arrest it, was the conduct of the college leaders. For more than a year they had been planning an invasion of Canada, collecting at their own expense supplies and material for it, and constantly urging its importance upon the authorities of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, as well as upon Congress and General Washington. To promote this scheme, and probably also to gain favor with Congress, by contrasting their patriotic zeal with the doubtful movements of their Bennington rivals, the Cornish committee called a convention at the college, on the 30th of August, 1780, at which not only the Gloucester and Grafton, but the Cumberland and Cheshire county towns generally to the northward of Charlestown were represented; showing a marked accession of strength to the college party, owing doubtless to the suspicious movements west of the mountains. This convention petitioned Congress to order an immediate expedition into Canada, taking the Connecticut river at Newbury

as a base, and Montreal as the immediate objective point. The petition set forth at length, the necessity in a military point of view, of the conquest of Canada, besides the great commercial advantages to be derived from the possession of the St. Lawrence, and the Great Lakes. As showing that the college leaders thus early took a prophetic view of our great western extension, it is worthy of note that this petition urged as another reason for the conquest, "that the securing that country in our favor, will be the only effectual means to enable us to secure those of Ohio and Mississippi. * * * In our opinion those countries cannot otherwise be effectually secured." Fifteen hundred men, five hundred horses, one hundred teams, ten thousand bushels of wheat and other abundant supplies, were promised from the Grants, between the Green Mountains and the Mason Line; a district which the petitioners represented to contain not less than five thousand families. It does not appear that Congress ever considered the subject of this petition, but its authors continued to agitate the scheme in various ways, and to make preparations for it.

It would seem that the college party generally, at this time, had ceased to expect any favorable result from their labors, other than a possible union of all the Grants with New Hampshire. Accordingly, as the time for another hearing in Congress approached, Colonel Olcott was again dispatched to Philadelphia with instructions to press earnestly for that mode of settlement. Congress finally took up the matter on the 19th of September, 1780, and after a three days' hearing, in which the views of Olcott were ably seconded by the New Hampshire agents, and as ably combated by those of New York, the whole subject was indefinitely postponed. Although agents of Vermont were present at this hearing, it was only to deny the authority of Congress to adjudicate upon the matter; and they withdrew with a defiant protest before the postponement took place. But the Cumberland county towns, hitherto hostile alike to Bennington and the college, and inclined to adhere to New York, now suddenly veered around to the college party. At a convention held at Brattleboro on the same day as the college

convention of August 30th, they had appointed Luke Knowlton to represent them at the congressional hearing, where we find him apparently acting in full concert with Colonel Olcott.

This virtual abandonment by Congress of its pretensions to authority in the dispute, and a well-grounded suspicion that the Exeter government, intimidated by the noisy threats of the Bennington leaders, was disposed to abandon its claim to jurisdiction west of the Connecticut, occasioned renewed activity on the part of the college party, and led to the next phase of this ever-varying political kaleidoscope, which is now to be noticed.

Within a month after the return of Olcott and Knowlton from Philadelphia, the Cumberland county towns, having now come into full accord with the college party, held a convention at which a committee was appointed to confer with a committee from Gloucester and Grafton (probably none other than Governor Marsh's Cornish committee), with a view "to devise and carry into execution such measures as they shall deem best calculated to unite in one political body all the inhabitants from Mason's Grant on the east, to the height of land [Green mountains] on the west side of Connecticut river." As this was no more nor less than the New Connecticut scheme originally contemplated by the College Hall convention of 1776, it is safe to conclude that it was proposed by the Cornish committee, especially as there is no evidence that it originated with the Cumberland county convention. The proposed conference was held at Charlestown on the 8th of November; and as there is no record of results, it is probable that it deferred action to await the appointment of a committee of Cheshire county towns, for which purpose a convention had been called to meet at Walpole on the 15th of November. The Cheshire committee having been appointed, the several committees met in conference at Walpole, and called a general convention of delegates from all the Grants, without reference to the line of the mountains, to meet at Charlestown on the 16th of January following, "to take such measures as the majority shall judge most conducive to consolidate an union of the Grants, and effect a final settlement

of the line of jurisdiction,"—under the terms of which broad and general call, many things were possible, as will appear.

As soon as it became known that such a convention was to be held, all the parties in interest exerted themselves to control its councils. New Hampshire, threatened with the loss of two-thirds of her territory, assiduously cultivated a sentiment favorable to a union of all the Grants with her, on the basis proposed by the Cornish Convention of 1778. New York sent emissaries to advocate the New Connecticut scheme, in the hope that the territory west of the Green mountains would thus fall an easy prey to her. The Governor and Council of Vermont sent to the convention their most trusty and skillful agent, Ira Allen, with full power "to take such measures as his prudence should dictate, and which might be conducive to the interest of the state." The indomitable energy and sleepless vigilance of this remarkable man, so priceless to Vermont in all her struggles, proved the salvation of the infant state in what was probably the most critical moment of its history.

When the convention met, forty-three towns were found to be represented, being about equally divided between the two sides of the river. No towns west of the mountains responded to the call. Capt. Samuel Chase of Cornish was chosen chairman, and Professor Woodward, clerk. After a session of two days it was voted by a large majority that New Hampshire should extend her jurisdiction over all the Grants. Eleven members of the convention from Cheshire county, being also members of the Council and Assembly of New Hampshire, signified, semi-officially, the willingness of the Exeter government to undertake such an extension. Allen arrived upon the scene after the passage of this vote; and perceiving at once the imminent peril in which it placed Vermont, set himself, with the energy and address which characterized all his movements, to undo the work that had been accomplished. In a single night, he so wrought upon the minds of the delegates, and that, too, by legitimate argument alone, as it would seem, that on the following day, January 18, the convention rescinded its action, and voted, almost unanimously, to unite all the territory, west of the Mason

Line, to Vermont; Allen assuring the Convention that he was authorized to engage that the legislature of his state, at its approaching session in February, would concur, notwithstanding the repeal of the union with the sixteen towns in 1778. A committee of twelve, which included Professor Woodward and his faithful coadjutors, Colonel Oleott and Colonel Payne, having been appointed to confer with the Vermont legislature upon the terms of the proposed union, the convention adjourned, to meet at Cornish on the 8th of February following; at which time the Vermont legislature was also to meet at Windsor on the opposite bank of the river.

Thus again at Windsor and Cornish, as in 1778, these two representative bodies negotiated a union between Vermont and the east-side towns upon terms mutually agreeable to the contracting parties; subject, however, to the approval of a majority of the towns in Vermont, and two-thirds of those in New Hampshire lying eastward to about twenty miles from the river. In strictness also, this treaty was a re-union of the towns east of the Green mountains with those on the west; for at the date of the Charlestown convention, there was practically nothing left of Vermont but what lay west of the mountains. The terms of the new union, which was definitely completed on the 22d of February, were, in substance, that the Windsor Constitution should continue to be the organic law, subject to revision only in the mode therein provided; that application should be made to Congress for admission into the Confederation; *but that no member of the legislature should ever give his vote for, or in any way consent to, the submission of the question of the state's independence to the arbitrament of Congress, or of any other power*; that questions of disputed boundary might be submitted to Congress, *but only after the state's admission into the Confederation*; that the expenses and losses of the several towns, occasioned by the war, should be equitably adjusted; that general acts of amnesty and oblivion should be passed for all offences and trespasses committed during the disturbed state of affairs that had existed; and that all suits, prosecutions and judgments against persons so offending, should be discharged

and annulled. Other provisions of minor importance were added, and the two bodies adjourned to the 5th of April, to await the action of their constituencies upon the subject of the union.

Upon re-assembling in April, it was found that the union had been duly ratified by the requisite number of towns, and on the 6th it was formally consummated by the admission to seats in the legislature of thirty-five representatives from the New Hampshire towns, for whose election the terms of the union had also provided. Among these members were Professor Woodward and most of the other leaders of the college party, who thus, after three years of vicissitude, found themselves once more apparently in a position to command success in their long cherished scheme of state-making.

Vermont now took active and energetic measures to cement the new Union; erecting counties, establishing courts, and organizing militia east of the river, and otherwise perfecting the frame of government. At the June session, the legislature appointed Professor Woodward, along with Ira Allen and Jonas Fay, "to repair to the American Congress, with full powers to propose to, and receive from them terms for an union of Vermont with the United States, and to take seats in Congress as delegates from Vermont, when terms of union should be agreed on and ratified." At the annual election in September, Colonel Payne, then of Lebanon, was chosen Lieutenant Governor. The regular session of the legislature in October was held at Charlestown, on the New Hampshire side, and chose Colonel Payne and Professor Woodward, Justices of the Supreme Court.

It now became the turn of New Hampshire to take measures for the defense of her invaded jurisdiction. The Exeter government again appealed to Congress, and that body again assumed an attitude of authority in the dispute. An influential minority in many of the east-side towns refused to submit to Vermont, and appealed to Exeter for protection. A confused and painful conflict of authority, with frequent collisions between the officers and partisans of the two governments, now ensued, and continued to disturb the peace of the inhabitants for more

than a year. Some peaceful negotiations between the two states, looking to the settlement of a boundary at or near the Mason Line were attempted during the year 1781; but they all came to naught through the refusal of New Hampshire to relinquish any territory east of the river. But the decisive measures which were destined finally to bring order out of the chaos, were slowly taking shape at Philadelphia.

On the 14th of August, 1781, Professor Woodward and his colleagues, appointed in June, arrived at Philadelphia to apply for the admission of Vermont into the Confederation. A conference between them and a committee of Congress took place on the 18th, at which they represented that Vermont claimed no jurisdiction east of the Connecticut; a representation which it is impossible to reconcile with the truth of history, since the legislature had, by formal resolve, on the 14th of February, laid claim to jurisdiction over all the Grants west of the Mason Line; and was at that very moment exercising it in a large part of the territory. When, however, Congress, on the 20th of August, made it an indispensable preliminary to the recognition of Vermont and her admission into the Confederation, that she "explicitly relinquish all demands to lands or jurisdiction on the east side of the west bank of the Connecticut river," Woodward and his associates found themselves in a dilemma, from which there was no way of escape, but to return to their constituents for instructions, which they accordingly did, reporting to the legislature at Charlestown on the 16th day of October. That body, now completely dominated by the college party, promptly voted its adherence to the union of April 6th, and declared that the action of its agents at Philadelphia on the 18th of August, disclaiming jurisdiction east of the river, "should not be considered as binding on the part of Vermont."

Meanwhile, a committee of Congress, having had the matter under advisement, reported on the 17th of October a series of resolves, declaring that all the territory east of the Connecticut should be guaranteed to New Hampshire; that Vermont should be recognized and admitted into the Confederation immediately upon her relinquishment of all claim to said territory; and that

in case of refusal, the territory of Vermont should be divided between New Hampshire and New York by a line drawn along the summit of the Green Mountain range. These resolves were under debate for many months, but were sent back to the committee without final action, when it became known that Vermont had yielded the point in controversy.

This threatening attitude of Congress, together with the confusion and disorder, consequent upon the disputed jurisdiction east of the river, were gradually conducting to a solution of the difficulty, when the Vermont legislature in session at Bennington on the 23rd of February, 1782, suddenly cut the gordian knot by a complete and final dissolution of the union. Such a result had become inevitable; but it is doubtful if the measure could have been carried at this particular time but for the absence of most of the members from the east side of the river, who arrived only in season to protest and to be denied admission to their seats. Among the immediate determining causes of this important action, reference to which should not be omitted, was the earnest and patriotic appeal of General Washington for peaceable acquiescence in the demands of Congress, contained in a letter to Governor Chittenden about this time. This letter was read to the assembled legislature, and the manifest influence which it exerted in the settlement of a difficult and dangerous dispute, attests not only the greatness of the writer, but the ready recognition of that greatness among his cotemporaries.

Thus ended in defeat the long struggle for a union of the Connecticut valley towns under one government. The disturbed condition of things engendered by the controversy, was still a long time in settling. Neighborhood feuds survived for some years; and not a little bitterness towards the college and its friends continued to rankle in the breasts of the dominant party in New Hampshire down through the generation which followed; culminating finally, in 1816, in the memorable attempt to wrest the control of the college from the corporation chartered by King George and vest it in the legislature; in resistance to which the college appealed successfully to the highest judicial tribunal of the nation, and established forever in this country

the doctrine that corporate powers chartered by the Crown of Great Britain were not impaired by the Revolution.

Four towns on the Vermont side of the river, in the vicinity of the college, attempted a union with New Hampshire during the summer of 1782; and owing to New York's continued opposition to the independence of Vermont, and the delay of Congress in recognizing it, New Hampshire was led to take some preliminary steps towards the annexation of all the territory between the river and the mountains. But the movement perished almost in its inception. On the other hand, some efforts were made in 1787 to induce an emigration from the east-side towns to the island of Cape Breton. Agents were sent to the island to investigate, an extensive tract of land on the river Mire was secured, and for a time there was every prospect of a considerable exodus from the towns about the college. This attempt also proved abortive. The leaders of the college party discouraged every effort to create fresh discontent, and henceforth submitted cheerfully to the decree of fate, which, as they viewed it, had now confirmed the Royal Decree of 1764, and made the Connecticut a permanent boundary between separate jurisdictions. With scarcely an exception, those leaders, on both sides of the river, addressed themselves to the task of healing the wounds that remained, and of re-establishing the authority of their respective states in the disaffected towns.

The Grafton and Cheshire county towns did not immediately renew their allegiance to New Hampshire. It would seem that they attempted to make some conditions; at least that they sought to secure themselves against retaliatory measures by the Exeter party. The general rejoicing which followed the surrender of Cornwallis and the dawn of peace, however, put all parties in a magnanimous mood, that greatly smoothed the way to a settlement; and the people along the river soon learned to live apart from their Vermont neighbors, and to seek a closer acquaintance with those in the eastern counties; a habit which speedily led to a better understanding, a modification of each other's views, and ultimate agreement upon a plan of govern-

ment embodying substantially the town basis of representation so strenuously contended for by the college party.

Both New Hampshire and Vermont subsequently found ample employment for the talents of the able and high-minded men who had thus maintained this remarkable struggle against them both throughout the entire period of the Revolution. And it is no small tribute to the political wisdom of that day, that many of them were called to stations of the highest trust and honor, within a very short time after the close of the controversy.

JUNE 2, 1879.—ADJOURNED ANNUAL MEETING.

The CLERK read a paper prepared by the late Col. David M. Bryant, containing recollections of his life and reminiscences of historical events of interest in the Connecticut valley, and especially in Springfield and the vicinity.

The PRESIDENT presented the following :

SLAVERY IN THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY.

In reviewing the changes which the centennial period, recently ended, has witnessed in this country, and in comparing the condition of society, at the end, with that at the beginning of this period, and particularly with reference to the valley of the Connecticut and its vicinity, to which the attention of this society is specially directed, it will be found that one of the most radical and important of those changes is the extinction of human slavery.

Very early after the settlement of Massachusetts, the system of slavery was introduced into this colony. One of the results of the war of the colonists with the Pequod Indians in 1637 was the great destruction of life. Another, scarcely less deplorable consequence, was the reduction of the captured Indians, especially the women and children, to the condition of slaves, under the pretext that no other disposition short of their utter destruction could safely be made of them. Many of them were disposed of as slaves among the colonists; others were shipped to the West Indies and sold into slavery there. This treatment of the captive Indians had a direct connection with the introduction of negro slavery into Massachusetts. The same vessel that carried the Indians to be slaves in the West India islands, brought back, as a part of its return cargo, negroes to be slaves in Massachusetts. Thus it is related that Captain Pierce, of the ship *Desire*, of Salem, who transported fifteen Indian boys and two Indian women and sold them as slaves in one of the West India islands, returned with a cargo of cotton, tobacco and negroes to be sold in Massachusetts.

In this way it came to pass that slavery became a recognized fact in Massachusetts and in other colonies of New England, many years before the close of the 17th century. It was not confined to the vicinity of the seaports where it first found an entrance. It became domiciled in the valley of the Connecticut, and maintained a foothold here for more than a century.

Dr. Holland, in the single page which he has devoted to this subject in his "History of Western Massachusetts," states that "the first record of the presence of negroes in the Connecticut River settlements is found in the register of marriages solemnized by Major John Pynchon, under the date of December 1, 1687: 'Roco and Sue, my negroes, joined in marriage.'"

This, however, is an error. The same ancient record quoted by Holland describes the examination of a negro in July, 1681, who had been held as a slave in Wethersfield and had escaped to Springfield. The story is thus told in the magistrate's record:

"July 1, 1681—A Negroe who says his Name is Jack, being sent for & examined saith That he came fro Wethersfield & is Run away fro Mr Sam Wolcott bec. he always beates him somt^t wth 100 blows so y^t he hath told his Mr y^t he would somtyme or other hang himself—he says he ran away fro. him one weeke & halfe since; He stole a gun at y^e next town, viz., Southfield & hath left it in y^e woods he laid it downe in a [pashion?] bec: it had noe flint in it;

Anthony Dorchester saith that today about noone this Negroe came to his house & after asking for a pipe of Tobacco w^{ch} I told him there was some on y^e table he tooke my knife & cut some & then put it in his pocket & after y^t tooke downe a cutlass & offered to draw it but it coming out I closed in upon him & so Bound him wth y^e help of my wife & dau^{lter} when he scrabbling in his Pocket I suspected he might have a knife & searching found my knife naked in his Pocket w^{ch} he would faine have got out but I prevented him & tooke it away." Pynchon adds "I committed y^e s^d Negroe to Prison there to remaine & be safely secured till discharged by Authority."

Anthony Dorchester was the ancestor of Rev. Dr. Dorchester, recently of this city, and of all of the name in New England. He came here from Windsor as early as the year 1649, with his wife, Sarah, and two sons and one daughter, who were born before he came here. His wife died in 1649, and he married a second wife by whom he had another son and two daughters. He was by occupation a miller, and for many years appears to

have had charge of the corn mill and the saw mill of John Pynchon. Like very many of the earlier settlers here, he could not write his name. His signature, when he had occasion, was by making the letter "A" as his mark. It is difficult to fix the location of Dorchester's house with entire accuracy. It was toward the southerly end of Main street, as it then existed, and on the west side of the street, and probably not very far from the present Loring street.

There is still earlier record evidence of the existence of slavery in the old county of Hampshire. In 1664, twenty-three years before the marriage of Roco and Sue, the county court in session at Springfield, had occasion to pass upon the administration account of the administrators on the estate of Richard Fellowes of Hadley, and made them an allowance of three pounds on account of a slave appraised for more than he could be sold for. We are not told what was the value assigned to this servant in the original appraisal, from which this deduction of three pounds was made. It appears that he had been entrusted with the management of the estate, and a further allowance was made to the administrators of seven pounds three shillings and ninepence to cover the expenses of clothing him, keeping the cattle and paying the taxes on the estate. It may interest some of our citizens who are descendants of the administrators of the Fellowes estate, to be informed that, after allowing their account of administration the record adds "this Corte did declare their good acceptance of the work of the administrators, Thomas Mekins and Cornet Allys, concerning their helpfulness to y^e Widdow Fellowes and about the estate."

Here we have direct and conclusive evidence of the existence of slavery in this valley within less than thirty years after William Pynchon and his associates began the first settlement in Western Massachusetts at Springfield.

This instance at Hadley was not a solitary exceptional case. Two years and a half later, in 1667, Robert Boltwood of the same town brought an action at law against Benjamin Wait, also of Hadley, in which he sought to recover of him twenty pounds for selling Boltwood's slave without authority. The suit was

have had charge of the corn mill and the saw mill of John Pynchon. Like very many of the earlier settlers here, he could not write his name. His signature, when he had occasion, was by making the letter "A" as his mark. It is difficult to fix the location of Dorchester's house with entire accuracy. It was toward the southerly end of Main street, as it then existed, and on the west side of the street, and probably not very far from the present Loring street.

There is still earlier record evidence of the existence of slavery in the old county of Hampshire. In 1664, twenty-three years before the marriage of Roco and Sue, the county court in session at Springfield, had occasion to pass upon the administration account of the administrators on the estate of Richard Fellowes of Hadley, and made them an allowance of three pounds on account of a slave appraised for more than he could be sold for. We are not told what was the value assigned to this servant in the original appraisal, from which this deduction of three pounds was made. It appears that he had been entrusted with the management of the estate, and a further allowance was made to the administrators of seven pounds three shillings and ninepence to cover the expenses of clothing him, keeping the cattle and paying the taxes on the estate. It may interest some of our citizens who are descendants of the administrators of the Fellowes estate, to be informed that, after allowing their account of administration the record adds "this Corte did declare their good acceptance of the work of the administrators, Thomas Mekins and Cornet Allys, concerning their helpfulness to y^e Widdow Fellowes and about the estate."

Here we have direct and conclusive evidence of the existence of slavery in this valley within less than thirty years after William Pynchon and his associates began the first settlement in Western Massachusetts at Springfield.

This instance at Hadley was not a solitary exceptional case. Two years and a half later, in 1667, Robert Boltwood of the same town brought an action at law against Benjamin Wait, also of Hadley, in which he sought to recover of him twenty pounds for selling Boltwood's slave without authority. The suit was

adjusted by the parties without the aid of the jury impaneled to try it.

There is good reason to believe that John Pynchon himself was the owner of negro slaves in Springfield as early as 1657, for on his account-book there is an entry to the credit of John Leonard in that year, in these words, "Reed by bringing up *my negroes* 7, 6." This bringing up may have been either from Boston or Hartford, probably the latter.

The number of slaves in the Connecticut valley in Massachusetts was never very large. Until the year 1700 there were but comparatively few in the whole province. The official report of the governor to the board of trade in 1708, stated the whole number at five hundred and fifty, of which number all but one hundred and fifty were in Boston. In 1720 the official return showed two thousand in the whole province. In 1765 the number returned was five thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, which was the highest number ever reached by this class of the population.

There are very few data for ascertaining the number of slaves in this valley. Some imperfect estimates have been made in two or three towns, which may serve to give some idea of the probable number in other towns. For instance, it is stated by Mr. Judd in his admirable "History of Hadley," that there were, in that town, in the year 1765, twenty negro slaves over sixteen years of age, and six in Amherst.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain with accuracy the statistics of slavery in the town of Springfield prior to the extinction of the institution near the close of the eighteenth century. There is evidence that negroes were here as late as 1777, who were recognized as the property of their masters, under the name of servants. They were not numerous. It is not probable that the number much exceeded forty at any one time. Comparatively few of our inhabitants found it profitable to own servants, or had occasion for their services. So far as can be ascertained, they were to be found in the families only of those who were in prosperous circumstances.

In general they were regarded, and regarded themselves as a part of the family of the master.

The masters and mistresses of many of these slaves were among the most reputable and respected inhabitants of the town. Their descendants and collateral kindred are here still, and sustain the character of their ancestors.

A few of the names of these slave-holders can be mentioned:

Rev. Robert Breck, for nearly fifty years the minister of the town, owned two or three female servants in the course of his ministry.

Col. William Pynchon, whose wife was a daughter of Rev. Daniel Brewer, the third minister, had a slave called Bristol. Soon after his master's death in 1740, Bristol united with the church under what was known as "the half way covenant," and was baptized. Bristol afterward came into the possession of Ensign James Warriner, and was married by Mr. Breck to Phillis, another servant of the Ensign. Bristol and Phillis had three daughters, who were of course the servants of the same master.

Col. Josiah Dwight appears to have been an owner of slaves. The death of an infant negro child belonging to him is recorded in the church records.

Deacon Jonathan Church was the owner of a negro woman who died in 1747.

Jedidiah Bliss and Luke Bliss, men well known here in the last century, and from whom many of our present inhabitants trace their descent, were both owners of slaves.

Luke Bliss had one, a mulatto woman, named Dinah. Jedidiah, or, as he was often called, Ensign Jed, had half a dozen or so of slaves, among them Prince and Peter, Pompey, Cambridge and Presence.

It is not, perhaps, strange that these two gentlemen required a little extra help in their families, as they were each blessed with a numerous progeny, Jedidiah having seventeen children, and Luke sixteen.

Other owners of slaves here were Dr. Charles Pynchon, Samuel Warner, John Munn, Benjamin Sikes, Josiah Chapin, Timothy

Bliss and Zenas Parsons, the tavern keeper, whose name and exploits as the host who once entertained General Washington in the old tavern, now at the foot of Court street, were celebrated with great éclat during the centennial year.

In regard to the treatment of persons in this condition of servitude in the Connecticut valley, very little can now be stated or known. It will not do to infer their treatment here from that which those in similar condition have suffered in other portions of the country, and at other periods of time.

The traditional evidence, so far as it goes, leads to the belief, that here they were in general treated kindly, more as hired laborers, are now treated, than as bondmen and bondwomen, subject to arbitrary rule.

In the records of the church in Springfield, I find entries in the hand of the clergyman of the marriages of the slaves, of the baptism of their children, and of their deaths, recorded in the same pages with those of the white inhabitants. Some of them united with the church, and the rite of baptism was administered to them and their children as to other members.

The usage may have been different in other places, but that was the practice here.

Some presumption in favor of the kind treatment which slaves received here in our valley may be found in the fact that it does not appear that there were many fugitives escaping from service here to other states. I find records showing that some fugitives came here from the States of New York and Connecticut, but have met with none of fugitives from servitude here to those states. And yet it is possible that such instances may have occurred. The attempts made to reclaim fugitive slaves from other states, who had sought refuge here, appear not to have been very popular in this community, and not always more successful in the eighteenth, than they have been in the nineteenth century. Thus the record of the court shows that in 1701, one Mary Dubois, of Palz, in the county of Ulster, in the province of New York, near Esopus, brought a suit in this old county of Hampshire, which was tried in Springfield, against Joseph Sheldon of Suffield (Suffield being then regarded as within the limits

of Massachusetts), to recover damages for the conversion (not in the religious sense but in the legal, technical sense) by Sheldon of a runaway negro man named Sam, alleged to be the property of the plaintiff, of the price of £80.

The jury returned a verdict in favor of the defendant, Sheldon. Upon what ground their decision was based, the record does not state, but it is not improbable that they allowed their sympathy for a fugitive bondman, who had fled from harsh treatment in another province to find a refuge in one where more liberal and generous sentiments prevailed—where the law and the spirit of the people discountenanced all cruelty on the part of the master toward his servant—to have some influence upon their verdict.

This sympathy for the slave, fleeing from bondage, was often manifested among the people of this valley years before the odious fugitive slave law developed the feeling so fully at the North, and established lines of underground railway to Canada through every New England state. With all their respect for law, it was difficult for our people to repress their sympathy with any poor struggler for freedom, and choke down their impulse to lend him a helping hand.

In this connection, it is interesting to recall the incidents of a fugitive case that occurred in this town in 1808. A colored woman was living here at that time, who was known to our citizens by the name of Jenny. She had lived here a few years, and had been married by Rev. Bezaleel Howard, the minister, to a colored man familiarly known as Jack. She was frequently employed in the families of our citizens as a washerwoman and in other capacities of service, and was regarded as an honest, industrious and useful person. Everybody knew Jenny, and everybody liked her. Imagine, then, the consternation and indignation, when it was announced one day that a Dutchman from the state of New York, had appeared here and, armed with the requisite legal process, had seized Jenny at her humble home, as his slave, a fugitive from the service which she owed him as her owner and master, and that he was about to separate her from her husband and drag her back to bondage in the state from which she had escaped.

It was soon found that the law, as it then existed, could give the unhappy woman and her sympathizing friends no relief. She was the property of the Dutchman, and the law would sustain him in his claims. But it occurred to somebody, and I am inclined to think the Rev. Dr. Howard may have been the individual, that the master would rather have a reasonable sum of money than a discontented slave woman, who had once tasted the pleasures of freedom in Massachusetts, and who might very likely, at the first opportunity, seek to enjoy them again.

So a bargain was made with the master, in consideration of one hundred dollars, to be paid to him, to give Jenny her freedom.

Accordingly Dr. Howard drew up a subscription paper, and somebody drew up a bill of sale, by which Peter Van Geyseling of Schenectady, sold to John Hooker, Thomas Dwight, and George Bliss, selectmen of Springfield, a negro woman named Jenny, alias Dinah, about thirty years of age, of whom he avouched himself to be the lawful owner.

This bill of sale, dated February 16, 1808, with the identical subscription paper, headed by Rev. Bezaleel Howard, and signed by eighteen others, is preserved in our city library.

The signers were: Bezaleel Howard, \$10.00; Oliver B. Morris, \$5.00; J. Byers, Jr., \$10.00; Daniel Lombard, \$10.00; Ebenezer Tucker, \$4.00; H. Dwight, \$10.00; James Byers, \$5.00; W. Cooley, \$3.00; Simon Negro, \$2.00; Mary Smith, \$3.00; Sarah Hooker, \$3.00; Mary Lyman, \$5.00; Jemima Lyman, \$3.00; Daniel Bontecou, \$5.00; Solomon Warriner, \$5.00; Mrs. Worthington, \$5.00; Mrs. Dwight, \$5.00; Wm. Pynchon, \$2.00; and George Bliss, \$5.00.

Jenny lived here many years after this respected and happy. She is probably remembered by some of our older residents, when she occupied a small cottage on the north side of East State street, just west of Goose pond, as it was formerly called, now lake Como. There she dispensed spruce beer for a consideration to the thirsty during the residue of her life.

I could mention another instance that occurred near the close of the last century, in the neighboring town of Wilbraham (now

Hampden), in which an elderly gentleman of great respectability, living near the Connecticut line, who had been an officer in the Revolutionary war, and an honored magistrate in this county, suffered a serious injury in his own house, in an ineffectual attempt to protect a colored man in his employ from being seized and dragged back to slavery in Connecticut.

To return from this digression, while the slavery that formerly existed in the Connecticut valley was of the mildest type, comparatively free from the brutality that has characterized it in some other latitudes, it had still some of the odious features of what has been called the patriarchal institution, and which are its inseparable attendants.

It treated human beings, with immortal souls, as property; chattels capable of being bought and sold as merchandise, and although apparently sales of slaves were not very frequent here, yet the evidence is conclusive that they had a marketable value, and passed from master to master in the way of trade.

The record of the court of common pleas for the County of Hampshire, held at Springfield, August 31, 1725, states in legal phraseology a lawsuit which grew out of the sale of a slave here in the Connecticut valley:

"Joshua Leavitt of Suffield, in the county of Hampshire, inuholder, plaintiff vs. Stephen Kellogg of Westfield, in the county of Hampshire, trader, defendant. In a plea of covin and fraud, for that at some time in the month of June last past, at the house of the plaintiff, in Suffield, aforesaid, the plaintiff bought and received of the defendant a certain negroe lad of about the age of ten or twelve years, for which said negroe the plaintiff paid to the defendant the sum of £75, which said negroe the defendant, at the time of delivering of him to the plaintiff affirmed, and avouched to be sound and well. Yet, notwithstanding, the said negroe proved very infirm, unsound and lame, and was so at the time of the defendant's delivering of him to the plaintiff, and had been so for some considerable time before, as by the plaintiff's evidence, now in court ready to be produced, more at large appears, by which covinous and fraudulent dealing of the defendant the plaintiff is damnified, as he saith, the sum of two hundred pounds, by means whereof an action doth accrue unto the plaintiff to have and recover of the defendant the said sum of two hundred pounds. The plaintiff and defendant appeared in court, the defendant pleads he is not guilty of covin and fraud as set forth in the writ.
(Verdict for defendant.)"

A case tried in Worcester in 1806, in which the town of Winchendon sued the town of Hatfield for the support of a negro pauper, developed in a remarkable degree the chattel principle of slavery.

The name of the negro was Edom London. In 1757 Edom was the slave of one Samuel Bond. Bond sold him to William Williams of Weston. In 1760, after Williams's death, Edom was set off in the distribution of his estate to his daughter, who was the wife of Oliver Partridge of Hatfield. There he lived with Partridge as a slave, until 1767. Partridge then sold him to John Ingersoll, Esq., of Westfield. There he remained three years, when Ingersoll sold him to John McCluster of Longmeadow. He staid in Longmeadow a few weeks and then was sold by McCluster to Joshua Holcomb of Simsbury, Conn., where he lived about four years. Holcomb then sold him to William Bond of Lincoln, Mass. Bond kept him a short time and sold him to one Cowden of Fitchburg. Cowden sold him to Stimson of Winchendon. This was just at the beginning of the American Revolution, and Edom, feeling perhaps stirring within him, that spirit of freedom which the orators of that day so often aroused by their eloquence, ran away from Stimson the very next day and enlisted as a soldier in the American army at Cambridge, for eight months' service. Before his term of service expired Stimson sold him to one Sawyer. (Think of this selling a soldier fighting the battles of his country for liberty!) Sawyer sold him to Goodridge of Winchendon, in July, 1776, (perhaps on the glorious Fourth). He staid in Winchendon about five weeks. Then he enlisted for three years in the service of our country, and served his full term of enlistment. His master, Goodridge, received his bounty money and part of his wages. Thus, this man, after having been the slave of eleven different masters, and been sold from one to another until the list grew to be almost as long as a Scotch pedigree, and having served for years in the armies of his country, at last drifts into a poor-house, and lives and dies a pauper, and two towns go to law to get rid of the burden of his support.

Negro slavery came into existence in Massachusetts without

legislative sanction. It was introduced not only without law, but contrary to law. As early as 1641, the General Court adopted an order, in these words: "It is ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, That there shall never be any bond slavery, villanage or captivity amongst us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us."

The Colonial Legislature finding it had gained a foothold, recognized and undertook to regulate it.

After a sickly and precarious existence of about one hundred and forty years, it came to its end. It has been a grave question how this was brought about.

Legislation did not create it. Legislation did not destroy it. Notwithstanding assertions have been made to the contrary, no act of the legislative body can be found abolishing slavery in Massachusetts.

It withered and fell before the spirit of liberty, which inhered in the people,—the same spirit that landed with Carver and Brewster at Plymouth and with Winthrop and Wilson at Massachusetts Bay, —and which, maturing through the century and a half that followed, finally reached its full expression in the Bill of Rights in 1780, the first article of which asserts: "All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and unalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties."

By some it has been supposed that the extinction of slavery in Massachusetts was the act of a judicial court. But the court had no authority to decree the death of slavery. All that it could do—all that it did do, was to hold an inquest on the body, and pronounce it dead. It has been left to our later generation to bury its remains and inscribe its tombstone.

The committee appointed at the January meeting of the society to consider and report on a revision of the by-laws, reported through the clerk, recommending the following amendments, which were adopted:

That Article third, concerning members, be amended to read as follows: "The names of candidates for membership shall be presented by the directors, and any person nominated may be elected by vote of the majority of the mem-

bers present at any meeting of the society." [The residue of the article to remain as before.]

That Article fifth, concerning meetings, be amended to read as follows: "The annual meeting shall be held on the first Monday of June, and quarterly meetings shall be held on the first Mondays of September, December and March, at such hour and place as shall be indicated in the call for the same." [The residue of the article to remain as before.]

The officers of last year were re-elected.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1879.—QUARTERLY MEETING.

An address was delivered by Professor WM. NORTH RICE, of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., on "The Geological History of the Connecticut Valley." The address was listened to by a large audience, with great interest. It was voted that the thanks of the Society be presented to Professor Rice for his very able and interesting discussion of the subject.

MARCH 1, 1880.—QUARTERLY MEETING.

The PRESIDENT presented the genealogy of Henry Brewer and James Brewer, members of the Society, deceased since the last meeting.

William S. Shurtleff, William L. Smith and Rev. Dr. Rice were appointed a committee on the publication of the proceedings of the Society.

The following paper, prepared by MRS. WILLIAM RICE, was read by the clerk :

RYEFIELD;

Or, a Town in the Connecticut Valley at the Commencement of the Nineteenth Century.

Truly the world moves ! Every new discovery, every new invention, that challenges our credulity, or inspires our admiration, brings home this truth to our consciousness.

Let any one, even the youngest of my auditors, think of his childhood, recall the scenes of his early days, and then compare them with his present surroundings, and he will be aware of progress. But to those whose memory goes back half a century or more, how great are the changes !

Within this time has been woven the intricate net-work of railroads, that now spreads over our whole country. Steam navigation, then in its infancy, has been so far perfected as to be as safe and reliable on oceans and seas, as upon lakes and rivers. The telegraph, the Atlantic cable, the telephone, the electric light—and machinery changing the whole phase of domestic industry, have been invented. We, who remember the time when none of these things were, grow almost dizzy as we think of the rapidity of the transformation. Truly the world moves ! Is it speeding onward to millennial perfection ; or, spinning down the swift grooves to its final destruction ?

It seems to us, looking back from the stand-point of the present, that the last half century has been remarkable beyond other periods, for this march of improvement.

Will it stand out thus in the history of the world, as read by future ages ; or, will all these marvels be eclipsed and thrust

into insignificance, by the astounding inventions of the time to come? We are no prophets. All we can do is to travel backwards over the ages, and to glorify (or otherwise) our own time by the contrast.

The history of our country, from the embarkation of the pilgrims down to the present time, has been written in detail. Every child knows when the first settlements were made, and who was the first governor of the Massachusetts colony; and can tell all about the Indian wars, the Declaration of Independence, and the war of the Revolution. But it is not thus definitely and consecutively that we gain our knowledge of the manners and customs of the same period. We must gather it indirectly from history, and from chance records of the time. Events stand out in the light, while the real every day life of those affected by them is in the shadow. An incidental mention of some household article in an old record, shows that such articles were in use at that time; a legal provision for the prevention of an evil, shows that evil to have been in existence, if not prevalent. Thus we glean our knowledge of the manners and customs of our ancestors. It comes to us as odds and ends, and is often somewhat chaotic as to time and order. We have all noted the frequent anachronisms in the representations of "ye ancient times."

We have seen all the periods of our colonial history, and that of the Republic, jumbled together without scruple; so that we should hardly be surprised to see a tableau of the wise and serious Governor Winthrop, in his puritanic garb, conferring upon affairs of State, with courtly John Hancock in scarlet coat, lace and ruffles; or, the doughty captain of Plymouth, shaking hands with the hero of "Lundy's Lane."

I have *attempted* to discriminate, and to present, here the characteristics of one period—to give a picture of a New England town, such as might have been found in the Connecticut valley at the beginning of the present century. I can not hope to escape entirely these anachronisms, and I therefore beg pardon beforehand for all the discrepancies I am about to commit.

It was a quarter of a century after the declaration of Inde-

pendence, and the marks of the long struggle were nearly obliterated. Peace and plenty smiled in all the valleys. The town of Ryefield contained at this time one hundred and fifty houses, and nearly nine hundred people. It had been built originally, after the pattern of so many of the early settlements, on both sides of a long, broad street, but, as the population had increased, other streets had been laid out, and it had lost in some degree its characteristic type, though the old street was little changed. Many of the houses were of one story, some were two stories in front, sloping down to about ten feet in the rear, and a few were of two stories throughout. There were also three or four residences of a better class; those of Colonel Belden and Squire Oldham were fine old family mansions; and that of Major Porter, on the west street, had some claims to architectural style and elegance, and besides, it was painted in two colors, the building being of stone color, and the trimmings of chocolate, something very uncommon for that time. There was an air of homely comfort about all these houses, even the smallest. They were wide apart, leaving room between them for the broad home lots which stretched out their length in the rear.

About the middle of the street on the west side was the church; and lower down on the other side was the tavern. I say *the* tavern par excellence, for there were two others in the town, albeit there was no great amount of travel in those days. But this tavern was the one where most of the balls and the semi-public social gatherings of the young people were held, and where the stage, which passed through the town twice a week, connecting with the line from the county town to Boston, stopped while the driver watered his horses, and allowed the passengers also to get a drink at the bar. It was really quite an imposing structure. The main building was square, with a broad hall running through it, and two rooms on each side. It was two stories high besides the gambrel roof, and there was a long addition in the rear. There were no other public buildings but the school-houses, which were neither remarkable nor imposing; and they, as well as the church, will be noticed hereafter.

With very few exceptions, all the people of Ryefield were farmers. There were a few tradesmen and mechanics (not many were needed in so primeval a state of society), but even these had their farm, or, at least their home lot and garden, with their pigs, poultry and cattle. Even the minister of the parish, besides preaching two sermons on Sunday and attending to his pastoral duties during the week, carried on his farm, overseeing and directing personally all the operations of the hired men, and failing not to work with them in every time of pressure or emergency. And sad would it have been for the lawyer and doctor of the town, if they had relied solely on the profits of their profession for a livelihood.

How much these simple and industrious habits had to do with the general and individual health, we do not propose to discuss, but certain it is that *professional* men at this period seem to have been sound in body as well as mind; bronchitis, dyspepsia and nervous debility, are diseases of a later date.

Money was scarce in those days, and it was the policy of every community, and again of every family, to live as far as possible within itself; and Ryefield was a true example of this policy. Almost everything required for the sustenance and comfort of the people was produced within the town, and with few exceptions the same was true of every family. Every family had its own field of rye, oats, and Indian corn, and raised its own supply of garden vegetables. Wheat was not so much cultivated. The bread most in use was made of rye, or of a mixture of rye and Indian meal. Wheat bread was only used for company, and the wheat flour was reserved for the fancy cooking of the family. There was of course some exchange of commodities for mutual accommodation; as when one farm would produce an excess of one article and there would be a deficiency of another; but the demand and supply were generally well regulated.

There were no factories in the town, or rather every house was a manufacturing establishment in itself, where various kinds of cloth, and diverse articles of household needs were fabricated in abundance.

Every family raised its own flax, rotted it, hackled it, dressed and spun it. The little wheel turned by foot, on which the linen was spun, had its place in every household, and its unfailing companion piece was the large wheel for spinning the wool. This spinning was the great, the never-ending work of the women, and the hum of the wheel was seldom unheard.

The spinning mule had already been invented, and two mills had been established, one in Massachusetts and one in Rhode Island, and yet, even at this time, the Secretary of the Treasury tells us that two-thirds of the clothing, and of the house and table linen used in the country, outside of the cities, was of family manufacture.

O ye tireless spinners of Ryefield, holding in your deft fingers the single, slender thread, as ye pace back and forth to the time of your revolving wheel, know ye that at this moment, even in your own state, a very child is drawing out two hundred finer threads? But spin on, ye thrifty dames, for your work is not yet ended. Spin on, ye buxom damsels of Ryefield, but ye shall not wax old in your labor. The magic mills shall spring up on every dashing stream, and the spindles shall whirl, not two hundred only, but two thousand, at the touch of that child's finger; and the hum of the wheel shall grow fainter and fainter till it is heard no more in the land.

The big timber loom of the time was not quite so indispensable as the wheel, for there were itinerant weavers who went from house to house, setting up the loom and doing the family weaving; and sometimes, also, the fine spun yarn was sent away to be woven. But the loom was very common, if not universal, and the weaving was generally done by the family.

Even the mysteries of blue dyeing were understood by the families, many of them having the dye-tub in the chimney corner, so covered as to make a seat for one of the children, and themselves dyeing the wool for stocking yarn, and for their linsay-woolsey cloth, and the linen for the checked shirts and aprons.

There were a clothier and a tanner in the town, but they did custom work only. When the weaving was done, that part of

the cloth designed for men's wear was sent to the clothier to be fulled, and dyed and dressed. And then came the tailor, and made or cut the yearly, or half-yearly stock of male habiliments. Sometimes his visits were dispensed with, and the thrifty housewife surmounted the difficulties in the construction of these garments; or, if not quite equal to the task herself, she secured the aid of some enterprising dame, generally old maid or widow, who had been initiated into the mysteries of cutting and fitting. The clothing of the females was usually made by their own hands; but if there were Sunday dresses of *boughten material* to be cut, or best bonnets to be made and trimmed, the mantua-maker and milliner came to the house and lent their skill to the work. Only think of best bonnets, when there was not an umbrella in town!

But there was one itinerant workman whose visits could not be dispensed with, and whose coming was hailed with great joy by the children—it was the shoemaker. Whenever the fatted cows or calves were killed, the skins were sent to the tanner, and they came home rolls of assorted leather. At the proper time came the son of Crispin, and taking with him his bench and lap-stone, improvised a shop in the kitchen corner, or in some out-of-the-way room in the house, and stitched and hammered 'till the household were shod. He was usually a merry fellow, singing ever at his work, and playing all the popular airs on his lap-stone.

Every family made its own butter, cheese, soap and candles. The day for dipping candles was a weary one to the good dame who undertook the task, but with what wondering eyes the little folks watched the process! And it *was* a pleasant sight, to see the long, slender wicks arranged seven or eight on a rod, growing and growing as they were dipped again and again into the cauldron of melted tallow. Candles were also sometimes run in moulds of pewter or tin.

Soap was manufactured from the accumulated ashes and grease, generally in the spring. The process was tedious, and often vexations; and the successful soap-maker was congratulated by her neighbors.

Sugar was made from the maple trees in considerable quantities, but the chief supply came from the West Indies. The sugar making was a real family holiday. The sap was collected and boiled down in the woods, and every child, big or little, was allowed full liberty "to taste and try," from the time the process began, till the granulated sweetness was perfected.

Every autumn it was a matter of course, that a fat ox or cow should be ready for the slaughter. Most of the flesh was salted down for winter use. Some pieces were slightly salted, and hung in the chimney for a few days to smoke and dry; and this hung or dried beef was one of the luxuries of those days. Pork was put down on a larger scale, and was the great staple among the provisions for winter. The hams were cured and smoked as now, and ham with eggs furnished a reliable dinner for sudden emergencies of company. Some of the flesh, both of the beef and pork, was reserved to use fresh, and suitable pieces were always distributed among the neighbors, who in their turn, reciprocated in kind. Mutton and poultry came in their time, and an occasional string of fish from the river, or a bag of game from the woods gave variety to the fare. Our ancestors were often hunters, though seldom sportsmen.

Among the autumn stores laid by for winter's use we must not omit the fruit of the orchard. There were the winter apples for table use and for the apple sauce, and what was, or seemed then, even more important, the cider. There were few really choice apples in those days, but the quantity of the sort adapted for cider was almost unlimited. Cider was the common drink of laboring men. All classes used it, even children drank it at will. From ten to twenty barrels of cider were put into the cellar for the yearly stock. Tea was somewhat in use, coffee was scarcely known. But, alas, we are compelled to add, that large quantities of rum were drunk by all classes. The farmers supplied their day laborers with it, especially in the summer months. Every family was expected to offer it to male visitors, and a neglect to do so would have been regarded as an unpardonable breach of hospitality, and even of good manners.

The Parson must be treated when he made his pastoral visit,

and neither Parson nor Deacon regarded it a breach of scriptural temperance to take their morning dram. Were the women free from the habit? I regret to say that we read of various kinds of delicate cordials and elixirs in which the women indulged, and which were often prescribed by physicians for various ailments. Crying babies were often quieted with hot toddy, then esteemed an infallible remedy for wind.

But to return to the stores of autumn. A picture of plenty was one of these cellars of the better class, with its barrels of beef, and pork, and cider—its bins of vegetables—potatoes, turnips, beets and carrots, and stack of cabbages.

At the same time the garret, which was the depository for the flax, wool and tow, was ornamented with long strings of dried apples and pumpkins, and perfumed with a vast variety of savory herbs.

And the barn was equally well stocked with its hay, oats, rye and buckwheat. There was no house without its barn. These barns varied in size with the amount of farm produce to be stored, and the number of cows, oxen, horses and sheep to be provided for. Many of them had various additions, or sheds, built on, stretching out indefinitely, without any regard to symmetry of appearance. Besides the living tenants already mentioned, there was the poultry, no small item in the resources of the kitchen. But the geese must have special mention. Every family had its flock of geese. Four times a year they were plucked of their feathers, and once a year of their quills. The women and girls knew how to pick them. They put on their old clothes, tied a handkerchief over their hair to keep out the down, drew a stocking over the head of the goose to prevent its biting; then, in spite of the noisy remonstrances of both goose and gander, the disagreeable task was soon accomplished. Quills and feathers were equally in demand. This was not the age of steel pens, and gold pens, and stylographic and calligraphic inventions, and the goose quill was the sole reliance of the parson and the lawyer, the poet and the accountant. And feather beds were indispensable to comfort; and if the family were well supplied, were not the daughters to be provided for?

All the appurtenances of the bed—the sheets of home-made linen, bleached white as snow, the blankets of soft wool, also home-made, and the showy patch-work quilt, utilizing in its construction all the waste bits of calico, showed that these hard-working people looked upon sleep as a luxury to be cherished.

As you approached one of these Ryefield houses, almost the first thing you would notice was the wood-pile, usually very near the front of the lot, its size being a sort of index to the prosperity of the owner. What a quantity of wood it required to keep a family comfortable through the long and terrible winters of that time! The records say that the winters were not colder then than now, but they were more terrible, for the people had not our arms and armor to combat with the cold. To cut and draw the wood were among the labors of the men when the farm work was over for the season. It was usually drawn in the winter when the sledding could be utilized. It was almost the labor of one man to bring it from the wood-pile, and to feed the family fire in the huge fire-place, sometimes six feet long and four deep. To build a fire was no small undertaking, and was sometimes attended with peculiar difficulties. There was the back log imbedded in the ashes, and the top log placed upon it, then the middle stick, the fore stick, and the immense structure upon the andirons. If there were no coals left from last night's fire, then they must be borrowed from a neighbor, or it became necessary to resort to the flint, steel, and tinder box. If the flint was dull, the steel soft, or the tinder damp, to strike fire was a task requiring both skill and patience. This did not happen often, however, for it was the special care of the master of the household to have the fire in just the right state for covering with ashes before retiring for the night.

At the beginning of the century the men still wore long, broad-tailed coats, with huge pockets, long waistcoats and breeches. The hats had low crowns and broad brims, sometimes so broad as to be supported with cords at the sides. The stockings of the parson and a few others were of silk in summer, and of worsted in winter. Those of the common people were generally of wool, blue and gray mixed, though linen were worn in summer.

The hair was worn long, either loose and floating down to the shoulders; or, in a diminutive queue tied with a ribbon; or, turned up and tied in a sort of club-queue.

The old men still wore cocked-hats and long queues. The more stylish wore ruffles at the wrist. Powder was not entirely out of date, but seldom seen at Ryefield. But this style of dress was doomed; early in the century, round hats and pantaloons began to make their appearance. Jefferson was, or pretended to be, very simple in his taste, dress and manners. He wore pantaloons instead of breeches, and leather shoe-strings in place of buckles; and his inauguration as President, in 1801, seems to have given the signal for the change. Powder and queues, cocked-hats and broad-brims, white top-boots and breeches, shoe-buckles and knee-buckles, began to disappear with the departure from office of the Elder Adams, while with the establishment of democratic rule, short hair, pantaloons, and round hats with narrow brims became the prevailing costume of men of all classes. Never a style of dress went so completely out of date and became antique in so short a time. There were a few old gentlemen who clung to it with tenacity,—here and there one wore it while he lived, but they became objects of curiosity, almost of derision to the boys in the street. The last lingering representatives of this old-time dress, called forth the well-known verse of Dr. Holmes:

“ I know it is a sin, for me to sit and grin

At him here ;

But the old three-cornered hat, and the breeches and all that,

Are so queer ! ”

The women wore close, short-waisted dresses of “ silk, calico, muslin and gingham,” with a full muslin kerchief, or broad standing ruffle at the neck. The girls wore also white vandykes. So says the chronicle. Well—yes—but these materials were worn by the wealthier class, or by the common people only on holiday occasions. The ordinary dresses of the women in Ryefield were made of material of their own manufacture. There was the plain or plaided flannel for winter use, the striped or checked linen, and the linsey-woolsey for other seasons.

We cannot conjure up the picture of the spinning girl, without arraying her in the regulation dress, the linsey-woolsey short gown and blue flannel petticoat. But they did like to dress up on occasions. Many a buxom lass has lengthened out the summer day with her spinning, and the winter evening with her knitting, in order to earn, in the time that was her own, the money that was to purchase the gay flowered India calico to be worn to the next quilting, or to the ball at the tavern.

Women wore large bonnets of straw or silk; sensible bonnets they were, covering the head and protecting the face and eyes from the sun and wind.

There were two stores in Ryefield, and what queer collections of diverse commodities they were! Of course they were rivals. The center-store, made more pretensions to style and taste, while the street store kept up its reputation for staple goods; and besides, the post office was at the street store and that gave it prestige.

A large part of the business done in both these establishments was in the way of barter or exchange. The thrifty dame did not go shopping with her nice roll of greenbacks in her portemonnaie, but she bargained for so many yards of calico, to be paid for in golden butter—for tea and sugar in exchange for fine flannel and checked linen, and so on. Farmer Jones paid for his ploughshare in turnips, bought axes and shovels with oats, and West India rum with Indian corn and buckwheat. Of course a money value was fixed upon each article. Day laborers were usually paid in the same way, in articles of use, seldom in money.

I have said that money was scarce with these farmers of Ryefield. All their money income was from the sale of their produce and goods of domestic manufacture; and the expense of sending to market was so considerable as materially to diminish the result.

There were three school-houses in the town. Two of them were low, oblong, one-story structures with but one school-room. The third was also of but one story, but it contained two rooms; one of these was for the smaller, the other for the larger schol-

ars. The room for the older scholars had a continuous desk against the wall on three sides, and in front of the desk were benches without backs. The largest scholars—those who wrote—occupied these benches. When the desks were in use the pupils faced the wall, at other times they faced the master. The benches were not continuous like the desks; there were spaces for the ingress and egress of those who wished to use the desk. It was not common, however, for one of the pupils, wishing to change his position and “face about,” to require the others occupying the bench to rise and give him passage; but he learned, by a sudden turn of the body and a dexterous movement of the legs, to accomplish the feat without trespassing upon his neighbor. The girls occupied these seats upon one side of the room, the boys upon the other. In front of these there were benches without backs and without desks. The internal arrangements in the other schools were similar to this.

Uncomfortable as these benches may seem, the march of improvement had begun, for the first seats in the oldest school-house were the outside slabs of sawn logs, flat on the top and round on the under side, with straggling legs fitted into auger holes. The school for the larger children was always taught by a man, that in the other room by a woman. The two other schools were usually kept by a woman in summer and by a man in the winter. There is good reason to believe that both girls and boys went to all these schools as early as the beginning of this century, though we know that in some towns of the state girls did not attend the public schools till later. In the early colonial days the public schools were attended by boys and girls together, and afterwards by boys alone, the girls being sent to “dame schools” as they were called—private schools kept by women, where reading and sewing were taught. Boston admitted girls to the public schools in 1790. As for the instruction in the schools of Ryefield, it seems to have been confined to reading, writing and arithmetic. Geography and grammar were scarcely heard of. Once a quarter the parson visited the schools, and instructed the children in the catechism.

The small scholars still used the primer—the edition entitled,

"The New England Primer, improved for the more easy attaining the true reading of English, to which is added the Assembly's and Mr. Cotton's catechism." This edition had a portrait of "John Hancock, Esq., late President of Congress," and a picture of John Rogers in the flames, and his wife and *nine* or *ten* children looking on. Also, an illustrated alphabet beginning with, "In Adam's fall we sinned all." Dillworth's Schoolmaster's Assistant had just given place to Daboll's Arithmetic among the older scholars; and Dillworth's New Guide to Noah Webster's Spelling book; the edition with the awful wood-cut of Webster as a frontispiece, which, we are told, the publishers were requested to omit, because "it frightened the children so that they could not learn their lessons." For readers, the higher classes used the "American Preceptor," or the "Columbian Orator" as the reading book.

A welcome day was Sunday—I beg pardon—the Sabbath, to the people of Ryefield. It began, in the good old times, when Saturday's sun went down. "The *evening* and the morning were the first day." It is true it sometimes shut down too suddenly on Molly's spinning before the last knot (her week's stint) was quite finished; and upon the busy house-wife mending Stephen's Sunday breeches. But no, Molly, not another turn of that big wheel—no, my good woman, not another stitch,—the Sabbath has begun. A pleasant time was the Saturday evening by the fireside, all the family together. The little stock of devotional books was brought out and distributed, for all the family could read but the very youngest. Then the children were questioned in the catechism, and sometimes they read a chapter in the Bible—each reading a verse. Then the father reverently read another chapter, and all the family stood up while he offered the evening prayer. It was *very pleasant*, but somehow the boys grew sleepy, and all were ready to go to bed at an early hour. And Sabbath morning, how still it was! Breakfast over, everybody must prepare for church. And we will take this time to glance at the old church of Ryefield. It was the second church edifice which had been built in the town, but it was itself full of years and destined soon to be replaced

by a new and more modern structure. This church had once been painted, or "colored," as the phrase was in the early record. Indeed, there was reason to think the process had been repeated, for there is on record another vote of the town meeting, authorizing a committee "to have it 'colored' again, if, in their judgment, the wood would warrant it." It retained now no vestiges of these colorings, but was of the neutral tint of old, unpainted wood, with just a suspicion of moss upon it. It was built after a style common in the early part of the previous century. It was nearly square, with the belfry and spire in the middle of the roof, so that the bell rope came down in the broad aisle. The pulpit was in the end opposite the door, and in front of it, facing the broad aisle, was the deacon's seat. There were slips in the center, and pews on the sides, and long slips in the gallery. The singers sat in the gallery on either side of the pulpit—the treble on the right, and the bass on the left. The children and young people were seated in the front gallery, and the tithing men sat there also to watch them; and if one of these officials observed any impropriety of demeanor, he rapped on the top of the seat and pointed at the offender. The custom of the men to sit on one side of the church and the women on the other had been done away for nearly half a century, and since that time the church had been seated by a committee appointed for that purpose. This committee had before them an estimate of the "*dignity*" of the pews, and endeavored to seat the people according to their age, estate and the places of trust they had held. We should suppose there would be difficulty in giving satisfaction to all parties, and it was so. There was usually envy and disaffection—and sometimes actual rebellion, so that it was not an unusual occurrence to call a town meeting, and appoint a new committee to reseat the church. All the people were church goers. No light excuses of wind and weather kept them at home. Some of them lived at long distances from the church, and for these the horses were put in requisition, the man riding on the saddle, the dame on the pillion behind him. There were always two services, and the intermission was short between them. Those who came from a distance gathered in knots to

eat the lunch they had brought, and to discuss the news of the day; while those who lived near went home to their equally cold dinner. On Sunday the principal meal was the supper. The old church was all very well while summer lasted, but cold enough it was in winter when the wind rattled the casements and stole in at every crevice. There were no stoves in the New England churches at this time. They were not used in the church at Ryefield till the winter of 1830. Fancy these people, coming, some of them, from a distance in the bitter cold, or through a driving storm, and then sitting in the church, which was literally "cold as a barn," through the *long* service.

The women carried foot-stoves to warm their feet, and shared the use of them with the younger children. The men and boys who had no such comforter, sometimes disturbed the minister in his sermon, by rapping their boots together in the vain effort to warm their almost frozen feet. The old minister often went through the service in his overcoat and muffler, and they do say, he once preached with woolen mittens on. In some places there was what was called a "Sunday house," or "noon room" for the use of those who came from a distance, where a big fire was kept to thaw out the people and fit them for the afternoon service. In Ryefield, those who could not go home between the services distributed themselves about at the houses in the neighborhood, where they enjoyed the blazing fire, and were treated with cider, to drink with their luncheon. I have spoken of *the* church, and there was but one church; but with the opening of this century, indeed a little before, the peace of the good old pastor began to be disturbed by occasional visits of Methodist and Baptist itinerants, who stole into the parish and preached, first in the outskirts in private houses, then in the grove near the principal village, and finally, through the laxity of the authorities, actually got permission to hold occasional services in the center School-house. And thus was the way prepared for schism, and for the growth of sects, so that in process of time other churches were established, and the old church could hardly be called with propriety the "*Standing order*."

Sunday evening was always a welcome time to the children.

How they watched for the going down of the sun, that their play might begin. Then they joined in their favorite games, and were all the more boisterous for the long restraint they had endured. It has been observed that they did not grow sleepy so early as on the previous evening. Sunday evening was the great time for neighborly visiting. More social calls were made on Sunday evening than in all the rest of the week. Holy time was over, and none but a few of the most thrifty would care to begin Monday's work, so it was a time of leisure; besides, they were all in their *best* clothes, and people are apt to feel more amiable when well dressed. This, too, was the special time for the bashful swain to visit his sweetheart. We surmise that a large part of the "engagements" dated from a Sabbath evening.

There is a good story told of one of the thrifty dames of Rye-field—an enterprising, driving woman in her household work, not willing even to lose the Sunday evening,—but *pious* withal. She was accustomed to begin her washing as the sun went down, and have her clothes ready to dry in the morning sun on Monday. One cloudy Sabbath she supposed the sacred time had ended, and, with changed dress and sleeves rolled up, she was hard at her work in the kitchen, facing the western window, when suddenly the clouds lifted and the great round sun shone in upon the poor Sabbath-breaker at her work. She started with amazement and horror, fled from the kitchen, and it was said, never again attempted to begin her washing on Sunday evening.

Marriages were celebrated at the house of the bride's father, and there was a general gathering of friends and neighbors. The groom had, as an old writer says, "some new garments" for the occasion, and the bride had as rich a dress as her circumstances could afford. The ceremony was performed by the clergyman, after which a *psalm* was sung and prayer offered. Then began the jokes and merry-making, for kissing the bride was not yet in vogue. The festivities were ended with a dance. There was no bridal excursion thought of, but the newly wedded pair went immediately to their own house, and set up house-keeping. On the next Sabbath, of course, they must appear together at church, or as it was called, "must come out bride and groom." It was

a great labor in those days for well-to-do parents to fit out a girl to be married. It would take a year to raise the flax and put it through all the processes to fit it for the wheel—then there was all the spinning and weaving of both flax and wool, and finally the sewing to be done. The patient lovers had ample time to consider. We surmise, however, that careful mammas began early to *lay by* a sly piece of linen now and then for the girls.

When a person died, the bells always tolled the age, one stroke for each year of life. Funerals called together great numbers, for it was a mark of respect to the dead, to follow them to the grave. The house was always filled to overflowing, and frequently numbers stood outside. There was a prayer at the house, and then the coffin was placed upon the bier and lifted to the shoulders of the bearers, and the long procession moved on to the old grave-yard. There was no hearse in the town till long after this period, and if the deceased was heavy, or the distance long, the weary bearers were obliged to set down their burden, and it was taken up by others.

At the grave, an appropriate address was made and prayer offered by the minister. The death was usually alluded to in the next Sabbath sermon, and made a lesson for the living.

The great festivals of these times were Thanksgiving and the General Muster or Training, the latter deriving interest from the still lingering spirit of the Revolution. The marching of the troops, and the sham-fight, which invariably closed these military displays, reminded of heroic achievements on many a bloody field.

The house and barn raisings brought together the men from far and near. There was hard lifting to be done, but there was mirth and social jollity as well, and the flip and cider circulated unsparingly. When the frame was in its place, and the work was done, there were gymnastic sports among the young athletes, such as hopping, jumping, wrestling and foot-racing.

Among the amusements of the times, there was the occasional tea-party for the women, when they plied the inevitable knitting needles, sipped their favorite beverage, talked over all the news of the neighborhood, and discussed the last sermon of the par-

son, and the new goods just received at the corner store. We will not smile at them, they had little recreation of any kind—these busy, hard-working women; and this was all innocent gossip, common report to the contrary notwithstanding.

There was the quilting—the quilt, with its patch-work cover, which was a wonder and a mystery, was put on the frames in the morning, and marked with its pattern of shells, or herring-bone, all ready for the work to begin. It was always finished in the afternoon, and the beaux came to partake of the bountiful supper, and to add gayety to the festivities of the evening. There were the apple bees, when the fruit was prepared for drying, and they were occasions of rare fun. And then the huskings—who does not know all about the huskings, and the strife for the red ears?

Then there were the singing schools, and the meetings to practice singing for the church. Music was the only one of the fine arts cultivated in Ryefield. Dances at private houses were common, and drew no reproaches from the sober people present.

Occasional balls at the tavern were attended by the young people. Even the children of deacons and ministers went, though their parents did not. The winter brought skating for the boys, and sleighing or sledding for all, and a merry time it was! What cared they for the cold, when they flew to the music of the bells? We must remember there were no pleasure drives at other seasons of the year. In 1805, there was but one chaise in town. It belonged to old Squire Belden, and when he and his daughter appeared in it, they were the admiration, if not the envy, of all beholders. There were coaches and carriages of many sorts already in Boston, but in Ryefield (save this solitary chaise), only the jolting farm wagon.

But the tavern was the great resort of the men. I have said there were three taverns and little travel, yet the taverns did not languish. Night after night the men gathered in the bar-room to take the social glass while they discussed the politics of the country, the news of the day, and the state of the crops. Only Saturday evening, which was *Sabbath time*, was excepted; on Sunday evening they gathered as usual.

I should hardly include reading among the amusements of the people of Ryefield. It certainly was not so considered by them. Books and newspapers were scarce. Every family had its little store of devotional books, which were read on Sunday, and by the old people on other days; but the Bible, and Watts's Psalms and Hymns were more read than all the rest together. The almanac was about the only book consulted by working people on week days. Books of a kind to interest and amuse the young in their leisure hours, there were none. Even instructive books of history, travel and biography, were not very numerous among this out-of-the-way people. Weekly newspapers were now common in the cities, and they had begun to be published in the larger towns. There were two in Springfield at this date, but they were not extensively circulated in the country towns. The occasional copies that reached Ryefield were read with curiosity and interest, but newspapers had not become a necessity.

The personal manners of the people of Ryefield were frank and honest, and at the same time somewhat dignified and stately. There was an air of self-respect, combined with a deferential bearing to superiors in station and attainments. Children were respectful to their elders, especially to parents and teachers. They looked upon a clergyman with awe, and always "made their manners" to strangers.

In the unsophisticated society of this town there was little distinction of classes, no strongly marked upper and lower class. Here, as everywhere, some were superior to others in character, education and intelligence.

Some possessed more of this world's goods than others, and there was a corresponding difference in the style of living. But there was no broad line of division, no one felt himself of a lower order than another.

The general intercourse of all classes was kindly and considerate. In most families where servants were employed, the master and servant sat at the same table. In other families where the meals of the domestics were separate, there was a perfectly good understanding and good feeling between the servants and their masters. These servants were not foreigners, there were none

such in Ryefield. They were sons and daughters of neighbors. Some families would have more working force than necessary to carry on their operations, while others would have less, and thus the accommodation was mutual. This service implied no degradation, and was never in after life regarded as a reproach.

My picture of Ryefield is finished—no—I cannot call it a picture—these disjointed outlines. My rehearsal of the old time good and evil is ended. You have drawn the contrast with the present. The true golden age, is it behind us or before us?

Mr. WILLIAM CLOGSTON exhibited a letter from Rev. Dr. Stephen Williams to his children, which was read, of which the following is a copy:

“Stephen Williams was born at Deerfield, May 14, 1693. His great-grandfathers who came out of England

On his father's side.	were	On his mother's side.
Mr. ROBERT WILLIAMS,	} of Roxbury.	The Rev. RICHARD MATHER, of Dorchester.
and		and
DEACON WILLIAM PARK,		The Rev. JOHN WARHAM, of Windsor.

His Grandfathers

were

DEACON SAMUEL WILLIAMS, of Roxbury, The Rev. ELEAZER MATHER, of Northampton. His father was the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS, and his mother Mrs. EUNICE MATHER.

S. W.

I was taken captive by the indians, February 29, 1703-4. Continued with the indians till April 30, 1705, was then bought out of their hands and sent to live with my Father at Chatauriche. I came from Quebeck with Colonel Dudley in the beginning of October, 1705, and arrived at Boston on the 21st of November, 1705, but left my Hond. Father and my brethren Samuel and Warham, and my Sister, Eunice, behind. My Father and my two Brothers came to Boston the next year, viz., on November 21, 1706, but poor Eunice is yet in that country if living. My Relations, and others were kind to me, and I was Kept at school at Roxbury till my Father's return, yea for a year after, and then went home to Deerfield, (my Father then being married again) I studied some time at Deerfield but the town being but a garrison full of soldiers and two families in my Father's house I could not prosecute my studies so that I was sent to live with my uncle Williams of Hatfield and from thence I went to Cambridge College in July 1709 and was admitted a member of the College. After I took my degree I kept school at Hadley. I was examined for preaching the latter end of the year 1714 and came to Longmeadow November 26 1714. I was not ordained till October 1716.

I was married to Miss Abigail Davenport of Stamford on the 3d of July 1718 by whom I had six sons and two daughters who are all living except Davenport my fifth son who dy'd in the army in 1758 &c.

My Grand Children (now January 31 1769) are 33. My wife dy'd Aug's 26 1766. I was weakly when I first set out in the world but have been remarkably favour'd so that when I have been at home (for I was dangerously sick at Louisbourg in the year 1745) I have not been kept from the publick worship but one day and an half in 52 years and the people in the place have not lost one term for the sacrament all the time I have been their minister. When I was abroad in my Country's service the sacrament was administered by the neighboring ministers. I was employed by Gov. Belcher and the commissioners to treat with the Housatonnick indians about receiving the Gospel. Attempts were so far succeeded that the Rev Mr Sargeant was settled among them &c. a church gathered &c. in the year 1735 I was a chaplain to a Rgt that went to Louisbourg in 1745 was taken sick at Louisbourg was carried on ship board very sick and was very ill on the passage, came to Boston on the latter end of November 1745 was kindly received and taken care of by my worthy friend Abiel Wally Esq, was restor'd to health after considerable time. But did not get to my own home till Feb 1 1746. In the year 1746 I was engaged again as chaplin to a regiment design to join the army that was to go against Canada but the expedition fell thro' &c. In the year 1755 I was again employed as chaplin in the expedition against Crown point—was at Lake George when our camp was attack'd by the french and indians under Gen De Diskeau on Sept. 8th 1755. In the year 1756 I was again employed as chaplin went to lake George but was taken ill had the diarrhœa difficulty, Jaundice &c—so that I left the army before the champaign broke up. I returned home and in the Fall and winter had two Distressing fits of the vertigo &c. Upon this I alter'd my way of living have lived more abstemiously eat no salt provision and but little butcher's meat except mutton have refrained from all spirituous liquor &c. this I believe has greatly searv'd my health. So that I have been able to attend my publick work with comfort in my latter days. In the course of my ministry I have been called to attend at counccills in cases of difficulty in the churches. These services are fatiguing and really worrying to such a weak nature as I am &c. In the place we have had our difficulties but in the general have had peace and quiet. I have seen abundance of the goodness mercy and kindness of God in the course of my life—for which I desire to render praises to almighty God the giver of every good gift—and to God I would look &c. Upon the Lord I would wait for the pardon of my sins. The Lord be pleas'd to humble me for my defects and failurs and miserable short comings of duty. Oh Lord be pleas'd to forgive me for the sake of the Lord Christ the great propiciatory sacrifice.

These things I commit to writing especially what relates to my ancestors for the instruction of my children and desire they may all be concerned to *exalt the God of their forefathers* as to what you have seen amiss in me your father carefully avoid it what you have seen agreeable to Christ will endeavour to imitate and mind the charge that David gave to his son Solomon as contain'd in chron 28. 9v &c from your affectionate Father S. WILLIAMS.

I entered into the marriage state on Sept. 17 1767 with Mrs Sarah Burt the relict widow of my dear friend Deacon Nathaniel Burt who was with me in the army in 1755 and fell in the memorable battle at Lake George September 8 1755."

JUNE 7, 1880.—ANNUAL MEETING.

No quorum being present, the meeting was adjourned to September 6, when officers were elected for the ensuing year as follows:

President, HENRY MORRIS.

Vice-Presidents, A. L. SOULE, S. O. LAMB, L. CLARK SEELYE.

Clerk and Treasurer, WILLIAM RICE.

Executive Committee, SAMUEL G. BUCKINGHAM, E. W. BOND, WILLIAM L. SMITH, WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF, JOHN W. HARDING, HENRY S. LEE.

Voted, That the SECRETARY be instructed to request copies of papers that have been read before the Society for preservation and for publication.

The CLERK announced that donations of books and papers had been received from Henry Morris, Rev. Dr. Buckingham, A. H. Kirkham, Dr. Alfred Lambert, Frederick W. Morris and Dr. Alfred Booth of Springfield, R. S. Storrs of Longmeadow, N. T. Leonard of Westfield, Rev. J. H. Bisbee of Huntington, and Joel Munsell of Albany, N. Y.

DECEMBER 13, 1880—QUARTERLY MEETING.

The PRESIDENT read the following paper:

THE OLD WHIPPING POST AND STOCKS.

Scarcely anything indicates so accurately the predominant traits and condition of a people at any given period, as do the laws by which they are governed and the mode in which those laws are administered. Hence, in studying the early history of the Connecticut valley, much important aid may be derived from the records of the courts and magistrates of that time. These give us a tolerably correct idea of the laws then in force, which were designed to regulate the conduct of men in the various relations of life, and show what was the practical administration of those laws. This is quite as true (perhaps more so) of the laws concerning what may be termed minor offenses or breaches of social duty, for which men were held legally accountable, as it is of the graver crimes.

Some of the laws relating to this class of minor offenses have undergone changes within the last two hundred years, particularly since our separation from the mother country.

These changes have been, not so much in regard to the nature and description of the offense itself, as in regard to the penalty. We have in Massachusetts at the present time, and have had ever since the American Revolution, laws against drunkenness, vagrancy, petty larceny, libel and slander, profane cursing and swearing, Sabbath breaking, unlawful games or plays, lewdness, common railing and brawling, and idle and disorderly conduct generally. Our colonial ancestors had laws substantially like ours, so far as relates to the offenses themselves. In fact our statutes on these subjects are, many of them, copies of the provincial statutes. But the penalties are quite different. We now punish breaches of these laws by a small fine, or by imprisonment for a short time, or by both. For similar breaches of the statute and common law in the early history of Massachusetts, some very different penalties were provided. These were actually enforced in frequent instances, which is hardly true of similar cases at the present day.

The magistrates and courts that administered the laws in the Connecticut valley during the first century and a half after its settlement, were full believers in the propriety and efficacy of corporal punishment for a certain class of transgressions. Having based their criminal code largely upon that of Moses, they were well persuaded that, if in no case they exceeded the Hebrew limit of forty stripes, they should have the Divine sanction. With this illustrious precedent constantly in view as a rule of action, they did not hesitate to apply the rod whenever it seemed to them an appropriate and adequate penalty for the offense. Crimes of a graver character were dealt with by tribunals of larger jurisdiction and punished by imprisonment or death. But for a large class of misdemeanors, particularly such as were considered scandalous, or tending to disorder and of evil example, the rod was a very frequent instrument of punishment. It was a matter within the discretion of the magistrate to some extent. This office was held by William Pynchon for the first

eleven years, afterwards for half a century, by John Pyncheon and his associates.

In awarding this punishment of whipping, little regard seems to have been paid by the court to the sex or social position of the offender. If the infliction of the penalty tended to disgrace the culprit, the commission of the offense was in itself disgraceful. The degrading punishment was regarded the just and proper sequence of the disgraceful crime.

The constable was the officer by whom the sentence was executed, and the public whipping-post was the place.

The time was sometimes the day on which the court was held. Occasionally the day of the weekly religious lecture was designated as the time for the infliction.

Sometimes whipping was an alternative sentence, to be inflicted if the offender failed to pay his fine. Often it was the only punishment awarded.

Some instances will be given taken from the records. Most of them are from the Pyncheon record, containing cases tried by William Pyncheon, as a magistrate, and cases tried by his son, John Pyncheon, in connection with Elizur Holyoke and Dea. Samuel Chapin, who were commissioners appointed by the General Court.

False Reports, Slanderers, etc.

In May, 1645, the General Court enacted a law designed to suppress the invention and circulation of false reports, whether injurious to private individuals or to the public in general. The preamble was in these words:

"Whereas, truth in words, as well as actions, is required of all men, especially of Christians who are the, professed servants of the God of truth; and, whereas, all lying is contrary to truth, and some sort of lies are not only sinful (as all lies are), but also pernicious to the public weal and injurious to particular persons. It is, therefore, ordered that every person, who shall wittingly and willingly make or publish any lie pernicious to the public weal, or tending to the damage or injury of any particular person, or with intent to deceive and abuse the people with false news and reports, shall be 'punished:'

"For the first offense, a fine of 10 shillings, etc.

"For the 2nd offense, a fine of 20 shillings, or be whipped upon the naked body not exceeding 10 stripes.

"For the 3d offense a fine of 40 shillings, or 15 stripes," and so on.

The following is a case for slander in imputing to a woman the offense of witchcraft:

"May 29 & 30, 1649. The widdow Marshfield complains against Mary, the wife of Hugh Parsons of Springfield, for reporting her to be suspected for a witch, & she produced Jo. Matthews & his wife for her witnesses, who were examined upon oath. Jo. Matthews said, that Mary Parsons told him how she was taught to try a witch by a widdow woman that now lived in Springfield, & that she had lived in Windsor, that she had 3 children, and that one of them was married, & at last she said it was the widdow Marshfield. Jo. Matthews answered, that he believed no such thing of her, but thereupon said he, Mary Parsons replied, you need not speak so much for goody Marshfield for I am sure (said she) she hath envied every woman's child in y^e end (?) till her own daughter had a child, & then said she y^t child died & y^e cow died & I am perswaded said shee they were bewitched & she said, moreover, it was reported to her by one in towne that she was suspected to be a witch when she lived in Windsor & that it was publicly knowne that the divill followed her house in Windsor & for aught I know, said she, follows her here.

"Goody Matthews saith upon oath, that when goody Parsons came to her house she said to her, I wonder what is become of the half pounce of wool—Goody Parsons said that she could not tell except the witch had witched it away: I wonder, said I, that you talk so much of a witch, do you think there is any witch in towne: Yes, said she, & she came into my house while the wool was cardinge: Who is it, said I: She said that An Stebbinge had told her in Mr. Smith's chamber, that she was suspected to be a witch in Windsor & that there were divers strange lights seene of late in the meddow that were never seene before y^e widdow Marshfield came to towne & that she did grudge at other women that had children bec her daughter had none & about the tyme (namely of the grudging) y^e child died & y^e cow died.

"Goody Parsons did stillly deny the truth of their Testimonys: but the said witnesses had delivered their Testimony upon oath & finding that she had defamed y^e good name of the widdow Marshfield, I sentenced her to be well whipped on the morrow, after lecture, with 20 lashes, by the Constable unless she could procure the payment of 3^l to y^e widdow Marshfield for & towards the reparation of her good name."

Marriage.—PLYMOUTH COLONY LAW, 1638.

"Whereas divers persons unfit for marriage, both in regard of their young years, as also in regard of their weake estate, some practising the enveagling of men's daughters and maids under gardians, contrary to their parents and gardians liking and of mayde servants without leave and liking of their masters.

"It is therefore enacted by the court that if any shall make any motion of marriage to any man's daughter, or mayde servant, not having first obtayned leave and consent of the parents or master so to doe, shalbe punished either by

fine or corporall punishment or both, at the discretion of the bench and according to the nature of the offence.

"It is also enacted that if a motion of marriage be duly made to the master and through any sinister end or covetous desire, he will not consent thereunto. Then the cause to be made knowne unto the magistrats and they to set downe such order therein as upon examinacon of the case shall appeare to be most equall on both parts."

Courtship and Marriage.—PROVINCE LAWS.

"May 1647. Whereas God hath committed the care and power into the hands of parents for the disposing of their children in marriage, so that it is against rule to seek to draw away the affections of young maidens under pretence of purpose of marriage, before their parents have given way and allowance in that respect; and whereas it is a common practice in divers places for young men irregularly and disorderly to watch all advantages for their evil purposes to insinuate into the affections of young maidens, by coming to them in places and seasons unknown to their parents for such ends, whereby much evil hath growne amongst us to the dishonor of God and damage of parties: for prevention whereof for time to come:

"It is further ordered that whatsoever person from henceforth shall endeavour directly or indirectly, to draw away the affection of any maid in this jurisdiction under pretence of marriage, before he hath obtained liberty and allowance from her parents or governors, or in the absence of such, of the nearest magistrate, he shall forfeit for the first offence five pounds, for the second towards the party ten pounds, and be bound to forbear any further attempt & proceedings in that unlawful design without or against the allowance aforesaid; and for the third offence upon information or complaint by such parents or governors to any magistrate, giving bond to prosecute the party, he shall be committed to prison; and upon hearing and conviction by the next court, shall be adjudged to continue in prison, until the court of assistants shall see cause to release him."

In 1641, before this statute was enacted, a case occurred which Mr. Pyncheon records, in which he sentenced parties for the misconduct forbidden by this statute. This must have been under his general authority to examine misdemeanors and inflict corporal punishment.

"January 11, 1640, it is ordered that John Hobell shall be well whipt by the Constable for two misdemeanors. First for proceeding to get promises of marriage from Abigall Burt, after that both he and she had been prohibited by her father severall tymes, and also for offering and attempting to doe the act of fornication with her as they both confesse though as farr as we can discern by any proove of Justice, the act was not don.

"Also Abigall Burt is found guilty in both the said faultes and is also to be well whipt by the Constable for the said faultes."

Common railers and brawlers were punishable by the old provincial laws, as they are by our present laws, but in a different way. A curious case is recorded by Mr. Holyoke, as having come before the Court at the time, John Pynchon, Samuel Chapin and Elizur Holyoke were the magistrates.

"March 13 1655. Obadiah Miller complaynes ag^t Joane, his wife, for abusing him with reproachfull tearmes, or names as calling him foole, toad, vermine, and threatninge him; as also for y^t yesterday shee fell upon him endeavouring to beat him at wch tyme shee scratched his face and hands: The case being examined it was found that Joane, the wife of Obadiah Miller was guilty of very evill behavior towards her said husband: it being proved by the testimony of John Lamb and Tho: Miller:

"John Lamb testified he heard her say shee would knock him on the head: and y^t shee did often call him foole and other reproachful tearmes:

"Thomas Miller testified y^t w^h his brother Obadiah his wife lived wth him shee did comonly call him foole and vermine: and he doth not remember he ever heard her call him husband, and that shee said shee did not love him but hated him: yea shee here said shee did not love him and she should not love him.

"For which her vile misbehaviour towards her husband shee was adjudged to be taken forth to y^e whipping post, there to receive soe many stripes on y^e naked body as y^e commissioners should see cause to inflict on her; whereuppon she was brought forth; but by her humiliation and earnest protestations for better carriage towards her said husband the punishment was remitted, and this sentence passed y^t for the least miscarriage to her husband after this tyme shee should be brought forth agayne to receive a good whipping on the naked body well laid on:"

Husband or Wife Striking.—COLONY LAWS—CHAPTER 66.

Oct. 1650. "It is ordered by this Court and authority thereof, that no man shall strike his wife, nor any woman her husband, on penalty of such fine not exceeding ten pounds for one offence, or such corporall punishment as the County Court shall determine."

The colony laws regarding the *observance of the Sabbath* were quite numerous and strictly enforced by various penalties.

At a court before the commissioners, John Pynchon, Elizur Holyoke and Samuel Chapin, May 8, 1654.

"Daniel a Scotchman Servant to Thomas Merick beinge found to prophane the Sabbath in idle walkinge about & not cominge to y^e ordinances of y^e Lord,

yea though he had warninge to y^e contrary: & being also complained of by his said Master for his grievous idleness in neglecting his busyness for severall dayes, yea synce he was called before authority for the like misbehaviour formerly at wh^h tyme he promised amendment: but grew worse & worse & therefore was adjudged to be whipped on y^e bare back wth five lashes well Laid on & execution was done accordingly."

Another case in which four young men were charged with violation of the Sabbath was attended with this peculiarity, that two of the culprits were sons of Mr. Holyoke, one of the two magistrates before whom the trial was had.

This trial was in 1664, and was thus recorded in the handwriting of Holyoke:

"Thomas Noble Constable presenting Thomas Thompson & John Horton for that last Sabb: was fortnight June y^e 7 they made a fray in y^e street in y^e evening about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after sunsett. Samuel & Elizur Holyoke being accessary in y^e said fray.

"The Commissioners upon examination of y^e case doe fynd that the said foure persons did profane the Lords day: & therefor doe determine that they all shalbe admonished thereof & that Thomas Thomson Jun^r Horton & Samuel Holyoke shall pay a fyne of five shillings apeece to the County: or be whipped by the Constable on y^e naked body with 3 stripes apeece: whereupon they were all admonished & the 3 former desiring to pay y^r fynes then otherwise were Ordered to pay them to y^e County Treasurer."

Samuel Holyoke, upon whom this sentence was passed by his own father, was then a boy of seventeen years. Twelve years afterwards, in 1676, he was the Captain Holyoke who so greatly distinguished himself in the celebrated Falls fight with the Indians.

Assaulting of Women.—PROVINCE LAWS—CHAPTER 103, 1711.

"Sect. 2. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that whosoever shall be convicted of assaulting or offering any insolence or violence to any women or mankind in the fields, streets or lanes in any town, or of despoiling them, damnifying or defacing of their attire or ornaments, or attempting the same, shall be punished by being publicly whipped not exceeding ten stripes or by being committed to the house of correction to receive the discipline of the house and continue there by the space of thirty days."

The discipline of the house by a law passed in 1699, included among other things, "*moderate whipping*, not exceeding ten

stripes at once, which shall be inflicted at their first coming in and from time to time, in case they be stubborn, disorderly or idle."

"At a Court holden at Northampton June 19, 1672, John Edwards of Northampton who came to that place from Virginia was tried 'for some misdemeanors in lascivious carriage towards diverse women of Northampton.' 'And the case being searched into. It is found and proved y^t the s^d Edwards hath been notoriously lascivious & hath caryed himself very debauchedly towards diverse women of N. (as by test, on file appeared) (& y^t he hath [tended ?] this way); The Corte doth adjudge him to be whipt on y^e naked body wth 20 stripes well laid on.' A different case with a different penalty is the following 'At a County Corte holden at Northampton March 31, 1674.' 'Martin Smith resident at Pacomtuck being bound over to this Corte by N. Comiss: for offering abuse to Zedidiah Strong's wife (in y^e street neere her father Woodward's house) laying hold on her to kiss her as shee thinks & shee testifying her offense to be soe affronted whereby shee sayth also shee was somewhat affrighted: he appearing in Corte & owning his fact & condemning himself & seeming sorrowfull that he should be left to such folly was fyned only 20s. to be pd to y^e Treasurer & 2s. & 6d. as y^e Recorders fees."

Sitting in the stocks was a mode of punishment for certain offenses, to which persons of either sex were sometimes subjected. Occasionally it was ordered as an alternative sentence in a case where the culprit failed to pay the fine imposed.

Webster's dictionary describes the stocks as a machine consisting of a frame of timber, with holes in which the feet, or the feet and hands of criminals were confined by way of punishment. The picture illustration gives a much better idea of this punishment than can be gained from the definition. The offender sits on a bench with a high back; his feet projecting through two holes in an upright plank in front, secured so that they cannot be withdrawn or moved. In this situation he can neither lie down nor stand up, but must remain fixed until released. The stocks were usually located in some public place where the culprit could be seen by all passers by. And not seldom he was subjected to the taunts and ridicule of the crowd that were sure to gather on such an occasion.

Profane cursing and swearing was one of the offenses subjecting the transgressor to this punishment of the stocks.

Colony Laws, Chapter 94—An Act against Swearing and Cursing.

"Sect. 1.—It is ordered by this Court and authority thereof, that if any person within this jurisdiction shall swear rashly or vainly by the holy name of God, or other oath, he shall forfeit to the common treasury, for every such offence ten shillings; and it shall be in the power of any magistrate, by warrant to the constable, to call such person before him, and upon sufficient proof to sentence such offender, and to give order to levy the fine; and if such person be not able or shall refuse to pay the said fine, he shall be committed to the stocks, there to continue not exceeding three hours, nor less than one hour.

"Sect. 2.—And if any person shall swear more oaths than one at a time before he remove out of the room or company, where he so swears, he shall then pay 20 shillings. The like penalty shall be inflicted for profane and wicked cursing of any person or creature, and for the multiplying the same as is appointed for profane swearing, and in case any person so offending, by multiplying oaths or cursing shall not pay his or their fines forthwith, they shall be whipt or committed to prison till they shall pay the same, at the discretion of the Court or magistrate that shall have cognizance thereof."

The wife of Henry Gregory, one of the oldest settlers here, transgressed this law, and her case came before Mr. William Pyncheon, as a magistrate. His record of it is as follows, under date of February 15, 1640:

"Goody Gregory being accused by oath of John Woodcoke & Richard Williams for swearing before God I could break thy head: she did acknowledge it was her great sin & fault & saith she hath bin much humbled for it.

"She is fined 12^d [12 pence] to the poore to be paid to Henry Smyth within a month: or if she doe not she is to sit 3 hours in the stocks."

Common Scold.

By the English common law in force here in the early times, a common scold was liable to a peculiar form of punishment. Blackstone (4 Black. Com. 168) says:

"A common scold—*communis rixatrix*—(for our law confines it to the feminine gender) is a public nuisance to her neighborhood, for which offence she may be indicted; and if convicted, shall be sentenced to be placed in a certain engine of correction, called the trebucket, castigatory, or cucking stool, which in the Saxon language is said to signify the scolding stool, though now it is frequently corrupted into *ducking* stool, because the residue of the judgment is, that when she is placed therein she shall be plunged in the water for her punishment."

OCTOBER 24, 1673.—"John Petty complaines ag^t Goodwife Hunter, for of-

fering to mischiefe his wife & giving her ill language, calling her as y^e Testimonys speake: Railing, scolding & other exorbitancys of y^e Tounge appearing as by y^e Testimonys of Mary Brookes & Mercy Johns on file, & Also y^e Neighbors declaring her continual Trade upon every occasion to be exorbitant in her Tounge, as particularly Sam Marshfield & John Bagg so declared: I sentence her to be gaged, or else set on a ducking stoole & dipped in water as Law provides: Shee to choose w^h of y^m shee pleases within this halfe houre; or else I to determine & order either as I see cause. Shee not choosing either, I ordered her to be gagged & so to stand halfe an hour in y^e open street wh was done accordingly; & for her reproching Goodw: Petty shee did openly cleare her of all shee spake ag^t her, asked forgiveness w^{ch} G. Petty accepting of, shee was released as to y^t."

MARCH 7, 1881.—QUARTERLY MEETING.

The PRESIDENT read the following paper:

MILES MORGAN.

The proposal of Mr. Morgan, of New York, to erect a bronze statue on Court Square in Springfield, to the memory of his ancestor, Miles Morgan, which has been authorized by the County Commissioners, is one that naturally and properly excites considerable interest among our citizens, particularly the older residents. As stated in the letter of the gentleman proposing this statue, it is to be seven and one-half feet high, and to stand upon a granite pedestal of proper height, with some such inscription as the following: "In memory of Miles Morgan, one of the Pioneer Band who with Mr. William Pynchon settled this town in 1636. Died and buried in this town in 1699, aged 84."

This statue, when erected upon such a pedestal in our Court Square, will of course be an imposing figure and attract much attention, not only from our own people, but from strangers visiting this city.

The question will be asked by some, "Who is this person whose memory is to be perpetuated in brass in our most public park, and what are his claims to such an honor?"

To those of our citizens who have been accustomed to regard William Pynchon as the leader and chief in the founding of Springfield, and his son John Pynchon, "the worshipful Major," and Captain Elizur Holyoke, and Deacon Samuel Chapin, as his principal assistants, it may perhaps at first appear strange that while no public memorial of any kind testifies the appreciation of our citizens of the worth of these men, and of the value of their services to our town, a name comparatively unknown, should receive so conspicuous an honor.

But because some of the fathers deserving to be remembered have been forgotten or neglected, is that a reason why another of the fathers, although somewhat less prominent in his day, should not be remembered and honored?

On the contrary, should not the fidelity of one of the descendants of Miles Morgan to the memory of his ancestor, be a stimulus to the descendants of other early settlers to pay a similar tribute of respect to the memory of their forefathers?

Why may it not suggest to some one of the numerous descendants of Samuel Chapin—for thirty-seven years so conspicuous in our town and church affairs, and the ancestor of all bearing the name of Chapin in this country, to secure for him some memorial more enduring than a notice in a table of genealogy?

Still more—why ought it not to awaken our city to a sense of what it owes to the memory of William Pynchon, the founder of our town, and to his son John Pynchon, its preserver and benefactor?

I would speak also of Captain Elizur Holyoke, were it not that he has a monument more enduring than brass in the mountain that bears his name, and the flourishing city at its foot.

Who then was Miles Morgan and what is his history? He was probably of Welsh origin. He sailed from Bristol in England with his two older brothers, and arrived in Boston in April, 1636. John Morgan, one of these brothers, went to Virginia. James Morgan, the other brother (called Joseph in one account, but described as James in a genealogical table of his descendants), settled in Connecticut, and became the ancestor of a very large family of Morgans. Miles, the youngest brother, came to Springfield and was an early settler. But he was not one of the "pioneer band" who, with William Pynchon, came here and settled this town in 1636. The term "pioneer band" can properly be applied only to those who were in the first party of settlers. There were not more than twelve men in that party, all of whose names are known. Eight of the twelve signed the agreement by which the plantation was established and regulated. This agreement is on the first book of the town records and bears date May 14, 1636, and is subscribed by William Pynchon, Matthew Mitchell, Henry Smith, Jehu Burr, William Blake, Edmund Wood, Thomas Ufford and John Cabel. Four other men were associated with these signers, namely, Thomas Woodford, John

On the contrary, should not the fidelity of one of the descendants of Miles Morgan to the memory of his ancestor, be a stimulus to the descendants of other early settlers to pay a similar tribute of respect to the memory of their forefathers?

Why may it not suggest to some one of the numerous descendants of Samuel Chapin—for thirty-seven years so conspicuous in our town and church affairs, and the ancestor of all bearing the name of Chapin in this country, to secure for him some memorial more enduring than a notice in a table of genealogy?

Still more—why ought it not to awaken our city to a sense of what it owes to the memory of William Pyncheon, the founder of our town, and to his son John Pyncheon, its preserver and benefactor?

I would speak also of Captain Elizur Holyoke, were it not that he has a monument more enduring than brass in the mountain that bears his name, and the flourishing city at its foot.

Who then was Miles Morgan and what is his history? He was probably of Welsh origin. He sailed from Bristol in England with his two older brothers, and arrived in Boston in April, 1636. John Morgan, one of these brothers, went to Virginia. James Morgan, the other brother (called Joseph in one account, but described as James in a genealogical table of his descendants), settled in Connecticut, and became the ancestor of a very large family of Morgans. Miles, the youngest brother, came to Springfield and was an early settler. But he was not one of the "pioneer band" who, with William Pyncheon, came here and settled this town in 1636. The term "pioneer band" can properly be applied only to those who were in the first party of settlers. There were not more than twelve men in that party, all of whose names are known. Eight of the twelve signed the agreement by which the plantation was established and regulated. This agreement is on the first book of the town records and bears date May 14, 1636, and is subscribed by William Pyncheon, Matthew Mitchell, Henry Smith, Jehu Burr, William Blake, Edmund Wood, Thomas Ufford and John Cabel. Four other men were associated with these signers, namely, Thomas Woodford, John

Reader, Samuel Butterfield and James Wood. All these twelve persons received allotments of land here on the 16th May, 1636. There is no mention of the name of Morgan, or any allusion to it in these proceedings. For the purpose apparently of reconciling this omission of his name with the theory that he was one of the pioneer settlers, the highly respectable compiler of the genealogy of the James Morgan branch of the family, in a brief notice of Miles, remarks: "He is said to have been under twenty-one years of age at the commencement of the settlement, and to have suppressed the fact of his minority in order to share in the drawing of house lots, which minors were not privileged to do." Upon the theory now adopted that he was born in 1615, he may have been not quite twenty-one years of age in May, 1636, but he would fully attain that age in the course of that year. His supposed disability would then be removed. Being then twenty-one years of age in 1637, there would be nothing to prevent his receiving an allotment of land, if he had come here with Pyncheon, and was then a settler. But no allotment was made to him in that year, and for several years afterwards.

In January, 1642, there was a second division of planting ground among the settlers then here. The rule governing that division was that "single persons should have eight rods in breadth, married persons ten rods in breadth, bigger families twelve rods, to begin upward at y^e edge of y^e hill." Seventeen settlers received allotments of land in this division. But Miles Morgan was not named as one of them. If he was then a settler here, it seems probable that he would have had some land assigned him, being then twenty-six years old, either as a single or married person. The inference is, that he was not here as early as January, 1642. In April, 1643, another allotment of land was made in which twenty-two planters shared. Miles Morgan is not named as one of them. In fact on none of our ancient records is his name mentioned, or any allusion to him, until March 14, 1644-5, when the birth of his oldest child, his daughter Mary, is recorded. It would appear pretty clear from these facts that his first settlement here was at some date between April, 1643, and March, 1645, so that it can hardly be said

that he was "one of the pioneer band who with William Pynchon settled this town in 1636." At least seven or eight years had elapsed after Pynchon came before Morgan appeared. In the meantime some twenty or more planters had come here, who became permanent settlers, and whose descendants are in this region still. Among those here before Morgan may be named John Searle, Thomas Horton, Thomas Merrick, John Leonard, Robert Ashley, William Warriner, Henry Burt, Rowland Stebbins, Samuel Wright, Richard Sikes, Samuel Chapin, Thomas Cooper, James Bridgman, Alexander Edwards, Francis Ball, John Harmon and Benjamin Cooley.

Before Miles Morgan appeared here, very considerable progress had been made in the settlement of the "Plantation." Its boundaries had been in part surveyed and the general arrangement of the Main street and home-lots had been fixed. Home-lots and planting grounds had been assigned to the planters, who were here. Houses, with thatched roofs and wooden chimneys lined with mortar or clay, had been built and occupied by the settlers and their families, all on the west side of the Main street. A saw mill had been in operation four or five years.

Town meetings had been held. Provision had been made for a court and jury to administer justice between the inhabitants and to punish offenders. Suits at law had been tried before this tribunal and verdicts had been rendered. In two or three instances that luxury of modern litigation, a slander suit, had been before the court and jury, with results probably not satisfactory to either party. Several cases of misdemeanor had been tried, in one of which where there were two defendants, both of the offenders received corporal chastisement for a breach not only of the legal but also of the moral code.

Domestic institutions were flourishing. Seven or eight marriages had taken place here, two of them of widows, whose husbands had died here. Eighteen or twenty children had been born into the world here. Everything denoted a prosperous and growing settlement.

It was at this stage of the town's history that Miles Morgan came. Whether he brought a wife with him or married her after-

wards is not certain. His marriage did not take place here, but in Beverly. The maiden name of his wife was Prudence Gilbert. A memorandum in the October number of the Genealogical Register for the year 1876, asserts that she was of a family, who were passengers in the same vessel with Morgan, when he came to this country from England, and that the acquaintance with the young woman, which was formed during the voyage, ultimately led to the marriage. There is a somewhat singular and romantic story told by one of Morgan's descendants some years since of his courtship and marriage. It rests only in tradition, and may or may not have some basis in fact. The story is that after he had located himself here, he sent a letter to Prudence at Beverly, proposing marriage, which proposal she accepted by letter. Thereupon, as the story goes, he took with him two friends and an Indian, with an old horse to convey the household stuff of the bride, and, armed with muskets, started for Beverly. The time occupied in this journey to Beverly is not stated. On the arrival of the party at Beverly, the marriage was duly celebrated. The bridegroom and his friends then loaded the old pack horse with the bride's "household stuff," shouldered their muskets, and escorted the bride, who walked with them, the whole distance, one hundred and twenty miles, from Beverly to Springfield.

Considering the fact that at that period there were no roads across the country, and that the route would take them through forests and swamps, and across rivers without bridges, it will be readily understood that this wedding jaunt must have occupied a good deal of time and have been attended with serious difficulties and dangers. But the men and women of that day were brave and hardy, and accustomed to endure hardship and to face dangers.

Without vouching for the authenticity of this story, which rests only in tradition, it may be stated as a historical fact that Morgan had a home-lot here by the grant of the town, on which he built a house. It was the corner lot on the west side of Main street, and the south side of the present Cypress street. In the record of possessions in the city clerk's office it is thus described: "Miles Morgan is possessed of a house-lot by the graunt of the

Plantation with the additions, viz., 3 acres more or less Breadth 18 rod Length 26 rod Bounded East by the highway West by John Stebbins & fronting to y^e wharfe way." The lot of John Stebbins is described elsewhere in the same book as "butting upon the lane or street that goeth to the higher wharfe." The "higher wharfe" was formerly known as "the upper ferry," and the road leading to it as "Ferry lane." This is now Cypress street. The present Ferry street is of quite modern origin. In this home, on the corner of Main street and "the lane or street that goeth to the higher wharfe," Miles and Prudence lived the remainder of their lives. Here their first child Mary was born, March 14, 1645, or 1644, according to the calendar then in use, which made the year begin the 25th of March. Here in regular succession, at intervals of about two years, followed the birth of their seven other children, Jonathan, David, Pelatiah, Isaac, Lydia, Hannah and Mercy. The last named was born July 5, 1658.

On the 14th of February, 1660, Prudence, the wife of his youth, died, leaving seven children, of ages varying from two years to fifteen years. Mr. Morgan remained a widower until February 15, 1669, when, weary of his widowed life, he married a second wife. As the record reads, "Sergeant Morgan & Elizabeth Bliss joyned in marriage Feb. 15, 1669." She was the daughter of Thomas Bliss, who came early to Hartford and died there, leaving a widow, Margaret Bliss, who removed with several sons and daughters to Springfield, where she lived many years, dying in August, 1684. By Elizabeth, his second wife, Morgan had one son, Nathaniel, born June 14, 1671.

All these five sons of Miles Morgan, excepting Pelatiah, married wives here and had children. Their descendants bearing the family surname are quite numerous, and are to be found in all or nearly all the states of the Union. Of the score or more of the name residing in this city, probably all are descended from some of these sons. In the old records pertaining to the civil business of this town, the name of Miles Morgan appears occasionally, but is not particularly prominent. His education had not been such as to qualify him for the perform-

ance of some important duties in the administration of the affairs of the town. Like many other of the early settlers here, who were men of great worth as men, and useful citizens, he did not write his own name, but made his mark whenever his signature was necessary. His mark was rather a peculiar one, and uniformly the same. It was probably intended to represent an anchor, which it more resembles than anything else.

He occasionally served on the jury, but never as foreman. In January, 1645, very early after he came here, he was appointed on a committee with George Colton, "to doe their best to get a smith for y^e towne," from which it appears that there was at that time, no person of that useful art here. In 1660, Morgan was one of the Selectmen of the town, apparently chairman of the Board. In 1662, he was one of a committee appointed by the town to make an agreement with Elizur Holyoke in regard to the grinding of corn at his mill. In 1671, he held the office of constable, and in 1680 that of tithing man. These offices, although not of the highest grade, were regarded as of much greater importance then than they have been in later years, and were never bestowed upon any but trusty men. And such a man was Morgan. His name is not to be found among those over whom either William or John Pyncheon had occasion to exercise their jurisdiction, either criminal or civil, in their capacity as magistrates. He was a law-abiding man. He did not aspire to fill positions in the church or in town affairs, for which he knew he was not specially qualified. So he left it to Major Pyncheon, Elizur Holyoke, Deacon Chapin, Deacon Wright and Henry Burt to carry on church work, and "dispense the word on the Sabbath," and to manage municipal affairs on week days. Whenever a strong arm or a steady nerve was wanted, he was on hand. If Major Pyncheon desired a load of beaver or moose skins, or of corn carried to Hartford for shipment to Boston, or a cargo of merchandise for his store brought up to his warehouse at the Point, or to his store at Springfield, as he often did, Miles Morgan was one who was ready to brave the dangers of the Enfield Falls and make the voyage, or if more convenient, to cart the loading with a team by land.

Accordingly, on the account books of Major Pynchon, containing the record of his extensive business as a trader in all the settled parts of the Connecticut valley, are to be found such entries to the credit of Miles Morgan as the following:

1652, Rece ^d by carriage corne down y ^e falls, ...	11, 1s, 8d
Rece ^d by carrying downe corne several voyadges to this 8 th July, 1653, ...	3, 1, 11
July 9, 1655, Rece ^d by a voyadge downe w th Sam Terry, ...	0, 7, 4
Rece ^d by carting down a load of corne, ...	0, 9, 0
March 19, 1655, Rece ^d by goeing down y ^e falls w th Sam Terry, ...	0, 15, 0
Feb. 24, '56, by killing 4 cattle, ...	0, 9, 6
Nov. 15, 1657, Rece ^d by killing an ox, G. Chapin & mine, ...	0, 2, 6
By killing 4 beasts this 27 th of Octob ^r 1660, ...	0, 9, 0
May and June, 1661, By 5 voyadges downe y ^e falls w th Ed Foster, ...	
when yo caryd w ^t at 4d. per bush., & brought up goods at	
22s. pr ton.	

All y^e voyadges come to 20 l, & y^e cannoe p^d for w^{ch} is 5 l, yr pt.

Of course such a person as Morgan would be likely to be rather prominent in the military affairs of this frontier town. There was a military company here, or train-band, as it was usually called, of which at one time John Pynchon was Captain, Elizur Holyoke, Lieutenant, Thomas Cooper, Ensign, and Miles Morgan, Benjamin Cooley and Thomas Stebbins, Sergeants. Eight days in every year this company was obliged by law to train. Every absentee was liable to a fine of five shillings. The training place was an open field on the bank of the river at the foot of what is now Elm street. This field was afterwards gradually taken up for a burial-place, and continued to be used for that purpose until 1848, at which time the remains were removed to the present cemetery, and the ground sold and converted to its present use. In accordance with the usage formally prevailing, every military officer, down to the corporal, was addressed and spoken of by his military title, and so Morgan in the record of his second marriage is called "*Sergeant*" Morgan. There is no evidence that Mr. Morgan ever held any office in the military company at Springfield higher than that of sergeant. In one of the newspaper notices referring to the proposed statue he was spoken of as "*Captain*" Morgan. He never reached

that office. In those days, when there were indications of an approaching Indian war, the office of sergeant was one of considerable dignity and responsibility. In the month of June, 1675, the Indian hostilities began and soon assumed fearful proportions. Spreading from the south-eastern into the central parts of the state, carrying everywhere devastation and carnage, the frontier settlements on the Connecticut river were soon menaced. For the protection of these, garrisons of soldiers were ordered to be established in the river towns supposed to be most in danger. Three of the dwelling-houses at Springfield were fortified and occupied by garrisons of soldiers. John Pynchon, then holding the office of Major, was in command of the Massachusetts forces in the river towns. These garrison soldiers were subject to march away to any point threatened by the enemy, leaving the garrisoned town for the time without any adequate defense. Such was the condition of Springfield at the time of the Indian attack in October, 1675. The garrison soldiers, forty-five in number, were away at Hadley. Probably some of the small Springfield company were also gone. Upon this point there is room for question. If the Springfield company was all here, it was not in an organized form. The assault of the Indians upon the town was sudden and unexpected. So far as possible the people fled to the fortified houses, and did all they could do to repel the attack. The Indians burned about thirty-two dwelling-houses and the barns belonging to them—leaving only fifteen houses standing. Major Pynchon was absent. Capt. Elizur Holyoke, who had been ill the previous winter and died in February following, may, perhaps, have been here. The Lieutenant, Thomas Cooper, was mortally wounded in the first onset. Of course greater responsibility devolved upon the other officers.

When the alarm was given in the night of the threatened danger, the people rushed to the nearest fortified houses for defense and safety. Ensign Cooley, who lived near the southern end of Main street, undoubtedly repaired to one of the two fortified houses in his neighborhood. What part did Sergeant Miles Morgan bear in this juncture? From the character of the

man for courage and physical prowess, there can be no question that he performed his duty bravely and well. That may be safely set down as a fact. But here comes in a family tradition. One of his descendants compiled a genealogy of the family about the year 1809, in which he says of the Indian assault upon the town: "A few fortified houses only in which the people were mostly collected, escaped the conflagration. In Morgan's house a number of people had taken refuge. A party of Indians attacked the house, but their fire was returned with such spirit and success by those within, several of whom were keen marksmen, that the assailants found it dangerous to appear in sight of the windows and loop-holes, and after some hours were glad to sheer off." A later biographer of the family, a highly respectable gentleman, writing in 1869, enlarges this narrative a little. He says: "A desperate attempt was made upon the dwelling of this dreaded veteran and his sons, but all advances were met with such cool intrepidity and deadly aim from every window and loop-hole by these practiced marksmen that the astounded savages were forced to retire, leaving numbers of their foremost warriors dead upon the field, whose bodies they dared not attempt to recover from under the sure aim of the fatal rifle." These two statements may answer well enough as family traditions, which have come down from a remote period, growing larger as they have grown older. It will not do to accept them in all their details as historical facts.

Miles Morgan's house was not one of the fortified houses, or, if it was a fortified house, it did not escape destruction. There were three fortified or garrison dwelling-houses. One of these and the most northerly one, was Major Pyncheon's brick house, built in 1660, known for years afterwards as the "old fort." The other two garrison houses were in the southerly part of Main street. Morgan's house was on the corner of Main street and Ferry lane, the present Cypress street. When Major Pyncheon with his soldiers on their hurried march from Hadley reached Springfield, the town was still in flames. He passed down the Main street from the north, directly by Morgan's place before he reached his own house, which stood just north of the

present Fort street. Of course it must have been manifest to him whether Morgan's house had or had not escaped destruction. Now there is in existence a letter from Major Pynchon to Rev. Mr. Russell of Hadley, written on the very day of the destruction of the town after he reached his own home. In this letter he describes the condition in which he found the town on his arrival. He writes: "We came to a Lamentable and woefull sight. The Towne in flames, not a house nor Barne standing except old Goodm. Branches *till we came to my house*, & then Mr. Glover's, John Hitchcock's & Goodm. Stewart burnt downe wth Barnes, Corne & all they had: a few standing about y^e Meeting house & then from Mirick's downward all burnt to 2 Garri-son houses at y^e lower and of y^e Towne." This letter of Pynchon is of superior authority to any mere family tradition, and conclusive upon the point in question. Morgan's house was one of those destroyed.

The probability is that Morgan and his sons, upon the alarm of the town being attacked by a large force of savages, repaired to the fortified house nearest to their own house, and that was Major Pynchon's. Whatever feats of courage or skill they performed on that occasion were probably in defense of the "Old Fort," and reflect just as much credit upon them as if done in the defense of their own home. The Pynchon house was filled with fugitives, many of them women and children, and there was ample occasion for gallant deeds in their defense. This Indian war of 1675 and 1676, known as Philip's war, was one memorable in the Miles Morgan family. His son-in-law, Edmund Pringridays, the husband of his oldest daughter, Mary, was one of the three men killed or mortally wounded at the time of the attack on this town. Pelatiah Morgan, his third son, was killed by the Indians in the spring following, on the west side of the river, opposite Chicopee. Two other of the sons, Jonathan, the oldest, and Isaac, the fourth son, were in the famous Falls fight in May, 1676, in which the English were overwhelmed by vastly superior numbers, and, after losing their commander, Captain Turner, were compelled to retreat under the command of Captain Samuel Holyoke of Springfield, who

greatly distinguished himself by his prowess. His extraordinary exertions during the fight and on the retreat, caused a disease which terminated his life in the following autumn. Who will erect a bronze statue in honor of Captain Samuel Holyoke?

It is believed that the foregoing sketch, meager as it is, presents all that is really authentic and reliable in regard to Miles Morgan.

Some traditions have been given as such that are of doubtful authenticity, and others have been noticed that are certainly apocryphal. His memory is entitled to our respect, not because he was a pioneer in the settlement of our town, for strictly speaking he was not a pioneer—not because he was a prominent leader in our civil affairs, for in the conduct of the civil affairs of this town he was far from being a leader. Even in military service he held but a subordinate although responsible position.

But he deserves our respect because he was an early settler here, where he continued during the remainder of his more than half century of life—a man who, without making any pretensions to a capacity for public service which he did not possess, was content to act his part in the sphere of life to which he was called, faithfully and modestly, responding to every call of duty and living the life of an honest man and an irreproachable citizen. Such a man is worthy to be remembered.

If it should be objected that the erection of this statue makes an invidious and unjust distinction between Miles Morgan and many other settlers, who were earlier here and who were quite as conspicuous as he—some of them more so, it may be answered that the proposed statue is not a public tribute paid by Springfield to the memory of Mr. Morgan as one of its fathers. It is simply a monument erected by one of his descendants to the memory of his ancestor, an expression of his filial regard and his desire that the memory of his progenitor may not perish. For one I could wish not only that Miles Morgan should be thus remembered,—but that all those primitive men who came here early,—some before and some after Morgan, and founded families, should have some kind of memorial of what they did and

what they suffered, during the first half century of this town's existence. There is no better or more appropriate use to which our public parks can be put than to make them the receptacles of monuments that shall record conspicuously the names of the patriarchs, to whose enterprise, wisdom and courage, under circumstances of peculiar trial and sacrifice, this town owes its existence and all its material prosperity.

MR. WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the CONNECTICUT VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY welcomes the project of erecting, in one of the public squares of Springfield, a statue to commemorate the life and services of Sergeant Miles Morgan, one of the earlier inhabitants of that city, and extends its thanks to his descendant, Henry T. Morgan of New York, for his intended donation of such a memorial, and that the Clerk of the Society forward to him a copy of this resolution.

JUNE 6, 1881.—ANNUAL MEETING.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President, HENRY MORRIS.

Vice-Presidents, A. L. SOULE, S. O. LAMB, L. C. SEELYE.

Clerk and Treasurer, WILLIAM RICE.

Directors, SAMUEL G. BUCKINGHAM, E. W. BOND, WILLIAM L. SMITH, WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF, JOHN W. HARDING, H. S. LEE.

The Committee on publication were authorized to incorporate in the published proceedings of the Society any items of interest, pertaining to the history of this valley, that may be accessible, even though such data may not have been formally presented to the Society.

Mr. WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF read the following original poem:

MINNETONA, OR THE INDIAN GIFT.*

As one, who standing on a crowning high,
 Out-looking far, with telescopic aid,
 Concealing from his concentrated sight
 The intervening scene before him laid,
 Absorbed—long gazing—all the near forgot,
 In one sense, *is* upon the far-seen spot;

So I, as to my mental vision's brought
 The long ago, revealed by History's glass,
 Excluding from my contemplation aught
 Except the far-time scenes that pictured pass
 Across the disk,—the present lost to sense—
 Am partless witness of long past events.

A quarter of a thousand years, and more,
 My retrospections, aided thus, extend,
 What time, converging on this western shore,
 The paths of Freedom and Religion blend,
 And give me, gazing, wond'ring and intent,
 To see them civilize a Continent.

* This was written for delivery and not for publication; which fact will account for, and, the author hopes, excuse its method. Its subject was suggested by an historical incident mentioned in the address of the late Hon. Oliver B. Morris, which is published in this volume.

W. S. S.

And gazing thus, I look not down
On beautiful and busy town;
But see a darksome forest frown,
Whose silent, grand but gruesome glades
No ray of sunshine intervades;
But rest there ever somber shades,—
Save where a huddled hamlet's strewn,
Along a vale that's open hewn
To sunbeams only of high noon,—
So thick the thronging trees arise
They intercept the light that hies
From morning and from evening skies.
So wide apart the houses stand,
They seem like tents of out-post band
That pickets some far border land.

I see no teeming harvest fields,
Where Nature with complaisance yields
To science cultured Ceres wields;
But, here and there, the stubborn soil,
Subdued by rude but sturdy toil,
Grants grudgingly a scanty spoil.

No factory chimneys crowd the skies,
Where giant Steam, enslaved, supplies
To Plenty superfluities;—
But home-spiced wheels and spindles fly,
Beneath industrious woman's eye,
To Need's awaiting lack supply.

I see no palace-bordered streets
Whereto Luxuriousness retreats,
And Idleness with Languor meets;
Instead, log houses, simply planned,
Constructed stoutly to withstand
The rigors of a rigorous land.

No galleries of Æsthetic Art,
Where taste to taste does taste impart,
And genius gains its meed and mart;
But only Nature's grand display,
Where awe's the only fee to pay
For entrance, open night and day.

No costly church, with splendid spire
Essays approach to Heaven nigher
By towering than its neighbor higher,
Where salaried saviors more contend
To forms of faith than faith extend
Or other's mar than theirs to mend;
But "Meeting house" that, meek and plain,
Doth adventitious aid disdain;
Nor seeks by *graces* grace to gain;
Where simple faith its trust declares,
And worship to its God upbears
In prayerful song and praiseful prayers;
And, at each hearth, I see arise
A household altar whereon lies,
Continually, a sacrifice.

No chime of academic bells
Unto the science-seeker tells
Where Truth has reservoired her wells;
But youth, home taught, are conning o'er
The ragged "horn-book's" scanty store
Of simple times' still simpler lore.

I see no lines of business blocks,
Where Fashion clothes—and shears her flocks,
And Speculation over-stocks;
But easy barter, by exchange,
Supplying well the narrow range
Of modest Want to luxury strange.

I see no rushing rail-way trains
 Speed thundering o'er the trembling plains;
 Nor even carriers' clumsy wains;
 But burdens borne on shouldered packs,
 Or on slow plodding horses' backs,
 Along the inter-wild-wood tracks.

Instead of smooth *Muc*-adam's ways,
 A road of *earlier* Adam's days,
 Still stump-incumbered, devious strays
 From cot to cot, in hap-made lines,
 As foot of stroller chance inclines,
 About the clearing's close confines,
 Or, winding eastwardly its way,
 Seeks through the wild the distant bay—
 Remote as Ind., to us to-day,—
 Or wanders down the shaded shore
 Of peerless river,—Ah! no more
 As *pier*less now as 'twas of yore—
 Unbridged, but blessing equally
 Its either bank, who could foresee
 What "cross" its crossing'd come to be?
 A cross, some say—not I, we bear
 To caution us to better care
 Whose head the county crown shall wear;
 But from this topic I refrain,—
 'Tis unpoetic—ungermane;
 And, turning to the past again,

I see no warp and woof of wires
 Make roadways for electric fires
 To run the errands man requires,
 And, threading which, the spoken word
 Is leagues away from utt'rance heard,
 Yet intervening silence all unstirred!
 But panting runner through the wold
 Doth carry news that groweth old

Upon the way e're it is told;
Yet, eke, the prescient pioneer,
Close bending to the earth his ear,
Through Nature's telephone doth hear.

Upon the hamlets' record rolls
Are numbered scarce a hundred souls,
But souls they are—not simply polls;
For, hither, in this doubtful day,
No one has come, or, come, dares stay,
Who brings not soul to face the fray
By Freedom with Oppression waged
In which is more to man presaged
Than in all wars that erst have raged.

Here, in primeval forest broad,
Where Tyranny not yet has trod,
Our "Fathers" stand—apart with God!
A little band, by soul strength stayed,
In armor of their faith arrayed,
Of faithlessness alone afraid,
With only soul-solicitude,
Courageous they have come and stood
To face the fate their daring's wooed,
Imperiled as scarce band of men,
Of any age in History's ken,
Self-choosing risk, have ever been;
Unbroken forest, far and wide,
Where Danger seems at home to bide,
Encompassing on every side;
A rugged soil unskilled to bear;
Disease and toil and scanty fare;
Discomfort every way and where!

Ah! what are taxes we impose,
Or all the toil this people knows,

Compared with tax and toil of those
Who, for the sake of Freedom, sought,
And here to full fruition brought,
For us, the fruitage of their thought?

Ah ! think of this ! nor seek to stay,
With selfish greed, the hand would pay
Our debts, "past due," ah ! many a day !
First, gratitude—the choicest coin
Of Heavenly mint, with no alloy in—
The only one Greed has no joy in !
And, gratitude's just sequence, then—
As did for us those generous men
Let us for others do again;
Nor, wholly, to the Future cast
The debt the Present owes the Past
For wealth its thoughtful toil amassed.

As built the Fathers we should build,—
Not simply for our time and guild,
But, finishing their unfulfilled,
Begin new structures, 'though the end
Beyond our usufruct extend,
To heirs unknown alone befriend.
Not all he has does any own;
Each reaps a crop a former's sown,
And each should leave a harvest grown;—
As father, when his race is run,
Bequeaths a venture well begun,
To fruit to fullness for his son,
Who, in his turn, if just, transmits
Investments of his wealth and wits
To his successor and acquits
Himself of obligations owed
For what on him his sire bestowed;—
So, each bears equitable load.

But I am wand'ring, as I gaze
Upon the *then* of those grand days,
Contrasting to the *now's* dispraise.
Those grand old days ! when Virtue reigned
Despotically, nor ever deigned
To plead when Vice her laws arraigned,
Or change decrees or *right* debate,—
E'er Craft contrived to separate,
So utterly, the "Church and State,"
Or cunning Crime had found a creed
Wherewith to garb itself at need,
And fashionize its faultful deed.

Those grand old puritanic days !
The Muse of History long delays
A fitting tribute to their praise;—
Delays, may-hap; until the chime,
Should chronicle their deeds sublime,
Shall better concert with the time;
'Twere discord now; so let us turn
And, from far retro-spection, learn
How praise we owe, we, too, may earn.
As, grandly, and in calm content,
So long as health and strength are lent,
For faith to spend—for faith be spent,
And reap no other recompense
Than that which Conscience aye presents
When duty's done with diligence,
Our Fathers stand, all unawares
The central group the canvas bears
Whereon Fame's limning his affairs.

But lo! I see a startling change
That does the tableau re-arrange
To situation sad and strange!

Mournfully the wind is wailing
To the sighing, shuddering trees;
Darkly droop dun clouds, enveiling
Woods in deeper mysteries—
All Nature seems as ill at ease!

Rapider the river's running
To the shelter of the sea,
Like to one who, peril shunning,
Safety seeks in company!
What danger does the river flee?

Mournfully, men's voices, moaning,
With a sadness fill the air,
As of suffering souls intoning
Some unwordable despair!
What suffering does the sound declare?

Listless limbs are dully drooping,
Lately strong, alert and lithe;
Shrunk forms a-writhe, are stooping,
Erst erect and bold and blithe!
Why do they droop and stoop and writhe?

Voices, sunk to husky quaver,
Which but now were clarion clear,
Stammer words that wand'ring, waver,
Dying 'ere they reach the ear!
What woe seek they to tell and hear?

Eyes are lusterless and glazing,
Lately lambent in their light,
As if dazed and senseless gazing
At some stupefying sight!
What baleful view does vision fright?

Changed the caroling of childhood
To a piteous pleading faint,
Makes the song-birds of the wild-wood
With unwonted note acquaint!
What pain provokes the children's plaint?

Implements of toil are resting,
Where, in field or home, they fell,
Dropped from hands no more contesting
Combat late they waged so well,
Till stayed—by what mysterious spell?

And those hands that, late toil-gifted,
Labor, now, no longer bear,
Feebly unto Heaven are lifted
Pleadingly as if in prayer!
What burden are they lifting there?

Why this woeful transformation?
What has broken the brave band?
Lo! man's direst foe,—Starvation!
Stalks through all the border land!
Ah! *him* no mortal can withstand!

They, who have, só soul-steadfastly,
Every other ill withstood,
To this trial now led lastly,
Languishing for lack of food,
Are starving in the solitude!

From them, who never yet have quailed,
However otherwise assailed,
Gainst every onset triple mailed,

MINNETONA, OR THE INDIAN GIFT.

In faith and hope and courage given
By ever equitable Heaven
To all who in its cause have striven.
Starvation! that doth make the fort
Less able for its own support
The more recruits its rolls report;
Starvation! whose shrewd scheme consists
In multiplying what resists,
And weakness for ally enlists,
Has seized, in all the stricken land,
And broken, in his ruthless hand,
The "staff" by which must stoutest stand.
Well may their fear-full faces blanch,
At this last ill that Fate can launch!
Yet, still their unstarved souls are staunch!

For see! although their hands are lifted
To Heaven, it is in patient prayer,
That only asks they may be gifted
With strength to this new burden bear.

No hand is clenched in desperation;
No gesture tells of malcontent,
But open-palmed self-abnegation,
As, with their heads submissive bent,

They stand around their chief, devoutly
And pure of heart and clean of hand,
With face to God, awaiting stoutly
To learn and do His next command,

Well knowing that He ne'er misleadeth,
Nor ever fails to hear and heed

His faithful follower who pleadeth
For strength apportioned to his need.

Assured that He, who hither led them,
Is with them still, to guard and guide;
And that His hand, that erst has fed them,
Is powerful to still provide;

That He, who, when aforetime craven
By starved Elijah in his stress,
Did even make the rav'nous raven
Purveyor of the wilderness,

Will also, here, in this far wildwood,
As unneglectful of their prayer,
For pious age and sinless childhood,
In His good time in His way care.

And if it be their work here endeth;
That here their earthly race is run—
Content, whatever His will sendeth,
Secure that so His Heaven is won!

Now, anxious, awed, I, watching, wait
To see the good they-supplicate
Avert the ill that seems their fate;
But vainly search I everywhere—
The forest, field, the flood, the air
Are foodless, fruitless, barren, bare!
No manna from the sky descends;
No Heaven sent raven hither tends;
Nor God, nor man, nor aught befriends!

But behold! who so cautiously pushes
Aside, near the path from the landing,
The importunate barrier bushes,
And close to the open is standing,

Forward bending, the better to listen,
Alert for retreat or advancing,
While her eyes, with some purpose a-glisten,
Around her are eagerly glancing?

Minnetona!—the “Fawn of the Forest!”
Her eyes—soft as those of her namesake,
But brave as the brave’s that in the war rest
Defiant on Death for his fame’s sake.

Fleetest form that the forest inhabits,
Her footsteps now softly and light fall,
And as cautious and sure as the rabbit’s,
Home-leaping to burrow at nightfall.

Minnetona!—the red Chieftain’s daughter,
Her bosom, brown, bare and unbodiced,
But as modest as Eve ’till sin taught her
That Nature could e’er be immodest.

Minnetona!—translated, “Glad Water,”
Like fount in a desert upspringing,
All the way-worn and weary that sought her
She sent away solaced and singing;

But now, strangely, some sadness has borrowed
All gladness from glance of her brown eyes;
And o’er-shading her russet-red forehead
A something akin to a frown lies,—

As when, often times, wandering clouds pass
Wind-wafted o'er sward of a meadow
And, collected in clustering clouds—mass,
Displace the soft sunshine with shadow,—

But whence comes she? and why is she standing
So earnest and eager eyed, peering
From her place of espial, commanding
The length and the breadth of the clearing?—

Lifting slightly the glass, I discover
The plane of my vision's extended,
And permits my review to pass over
The morn that the maiden has ended.

All the hours that have followed the dawning,
Each muscle at strain and a-quiver,
But as steady a march of the morning,
Down the wand'ring course of the river,

Over thirty long miles, as the crow flies,
And more by the wind of the water,
Swift and silent as wind-driven snow flies,
Her paddle, unpausing, has brought her;

Round the coquettish curve of the Deerfields,
Where coyly the stream was delaying,
In the circling embrace of the clear fields,
Caressing and coaxing its staying.

Round the Ox-bow, where, yoking the Mountains,
The river, repentant and yearning,
To its sources in shadow-cooled fountains
Made futile attempts at returning.

Down the rapids, where, now, at her pleasure,
Thrift Holyoke emprisons the water,
Till its toiling shall add to the treasure
Her myriad spindles have brought her.

Down the straight-away course of the racing,
Where, more than two thousand moons later,
Harvard, Amherst and Yale boys were bracing
Each brain and each brawn for each "Mater."

And adown and adown, ever keeping
True time, with a sweet tender crooning,
To her paddles swift rhythmical sweeping,
Till, zenithed, the Sun held his nooning.

And her cautious canoe beak had parted
The willows enveiling her landing,
And she list'ning, alert, anxious-hearted,
At last on the shore safe was standing.

Quick she fastened her birch bark securely,—
In vines, creeping low there, embedded,—
Then, with caution, but swiftly and surely,
The path to the clearing up-threaded.

But a moment, at the ending
Of the wood, she stands, attent,
While her glance, all comprehending,
Is around her searching sent;
Then,—a shade with shadows blending,
Skirts, unseen, the settlement.

Not a word or sound she utters;
But the tear-drops threat to fall,
And her troubled bosom flutters
As she understands it all;—

Hears the moans the strong man utters;
Hears the craving children call;

Sees the solemn group assembling
Round the leader rapt in prayer;
Hears the sobs of women, trembling
All the sympathizing air,
Till the woe-full wood's resembling
Auditory of Despair.

Only once I see her shrinking,
As she sees, within his door,
Faint, a youthful white brave sinking
Almost lifeless to the floor;
Then, she pausing, trance-like thinking,
Seeks to see or hear no more;

But, as shade from sunlight flieth,
From her brow the frown doth fly;
And as dew in sunshine drieth
In her smile the tear-drops dry
Swift as, hawked, the heron hieth
To her heaven of hope she hies.

Swift, but still as silence, gliding
Where, the veiling-vines amid,
Her canoe is quiet hiding
Like a water spirit hid,—
Like a water sprite abiding
For a forest fairy's bid.

At her touch, her bark has glided
Still and swift,—against the stream,
Still as gondola that's guided
By a dreamer in a dream,
Yet, so swift that retro-tided
Doth the rapid river seem !

MINNETONA, OR THE INDIAN GIFT.

Ah ! grander than the galleon
That bore the Thracian Queen,
And fairier than fairy boat
Of dreamy-eyed Undine,
And gracefuller than gondola
Venetia e'er has seen,
The bark of Minnetona is;
And lovelier its owner is,—
And queenlier her mien—
Than languid Cleopatra,
Than Naiad tranced in ease,
Or stateliest signorita
Upon Italian seas;
And purer far, and royaler
Than blue-est blood that reigns—
And unto queenhood loyaler—
The red blood in her veins,
From a line of Kings descended
Whose founder realm had won,
Over half a world extended,
Ere Europe's had begun !

For a moment now she stayeth,
Face and hands lifts to the skies,
And to Manitou she prayeth,—
Prayers pathos in her eyes !
Then, as answered, she delayeth
For no longer her emprise;

And swift as a swallow skimmeth the wave,
As flight of an arrow true,
Now over the wave, on mission to save,
She speedeth her bark canoe,

For a thirty mile race—and “straight away,”
With never a fear, save one:—
That, on the long way, mishap may delay
Her bark e’er the goal be won.

The stream is winding; the current is strong;
’Tis past the noon of the day;
And the wind is strong, and it bloweth wrong,
As if ’twould her purpose stay;

But her soul is staunch; her muscles are steel;
They shall not fail her, before
Her canoe shall feel, with its slender keel,
The shingle upon the shore

Of the fertile meads neath Sugarloaf’s side,
Where, hoarding their harvests shorn,
Her people abide and thriftily hide,
Still, wealth of the Indian corn;

Whence she secretly stole—Song must be sooth—
E’re dawn, from her father’s tent,
To find out the truth of tidings of ruth
In the pale-face settlement.

Yester-eve, wan, weary and haggard
Had three white men come up from their clearing,
And, with voices that faintly staggered,
Told a terrible tale in her hearing;—

How the soil, newly turned and unwilling,
In the meadows below, in the light lands,
Drying up in the drought, in the tilling,
Had but yielded scant crops to the white hands,

How the money, on which they'd depended
To buy food, since their harvests had failed them,
For defense of their homes was expended,
In resisting red foes that assailed them;

How that now, at the long winter's ending,
All their people, sore famished and craving,
And with Death at their doorways contending,
Sought to share of the Indian's saving.

And her father, the chief, answered coldly,
All unmoved, she had thought, by their pleading:
That the pale faces bore themselves boldly,
The red chieftain to seek at their needing,—

The red chieftain, whose people they'd driven
From their lands by the Great Spirit granted,
Where their crops many seasons had thriven,—
In the smiles of the Great Spirit planted;

If the pale faces' harvest had failed them,
'Twas by wrath of the Great Spirit blighted!
If the red men in war had assailed them
'Twas that wrong they had done should be righted!

If their grain in the growing was blasted,
Why escaped the Indians the blight then?
Had the cold of the winter not lasted
Just as long for the red as the white men?

That the red men were many;—for feeding
Of themselves, and their squaws and papooses,
They had food was no more than their needing;
They had none for the pale faces' uses!

Then the chieftain, although he commanded
That some food for their hunger be brought them,

Sent the strangers away empty handed,
And with eyes that were sadder than sought them.

But a fear came to her with their pleading
That beclouded the sunlight above her,
Who were they that so sorely were needing?
Was their need in the camp of her lover?

Of her lover! Ah yes! Minnetona,—
For, most fittingly here, finds the tale place,—
Of her *own* heart has ceased to be owner
Since a youth, from the camp of the pale face,

Found her lying, asleep, in the summer,
At the end of a day—and her childhood—
'Neath an oak where fatigue had o'er come her,
On the moss, in the depth of the wild-wood;

When the panther-skin, now doth her cover,
Close around her caressingly clinging,
Its first owner was wearing, above her,
Crouching, cruelly ready for springing,

And vibrating, from huge head to haunches,
Blazing-eyed, every muscle a-quiver,
In the crotch of the giant trees branches
She had fancied safe shelter would give her,

Fast asleep, all unconscious of danger,
Dreaming dreams only Innocence taught her,
To awake to dreams sweeter and stranger
Than the fairies of sleep ever brought her;—

Roused by ring of a rifle-ball, flying
To the heart of the monster out-leaping,
She awoke to behold the brute dying,—
And her heart in her rescuers' keeping.

Unresisted, resistless attraction
Thus uniting these alien hearts,
And 'tis only less strange than the fraction
That, so suddenly, kindred ones parts!

But such love, swift appearing as this did,
Not as sudden as seems has its birth;
But it has from creation existed—
Is as old as the Sun's love for Earth.

And it only so sudden upstarted
To respond to a long waited call;
And that love that so strangely departed?
That? Oh *that* was not true Love at all;

But was Lust that as Love masqueraded,
And that when its poor part was out played,
Dropped the mask its mean mimicry aided
And took flight lest its fraud be betrayed!

Were it otherwise, Sense had no armor
Could have heart of these, either, arrayed,
Would have cuirassed each charmed from each charmer,
Gain'st the charms that each charmer displayed.

He, with form that was lithe as the willow;
But as straight as the ship-masting pine,
And as strong as the oak, late her pillow,
And rich blooded as grapes are with wine.

With dark eyes, full of fire but as tender
As the tear moistened ones of a child;
And with lips seeming ready to render
Words of challenge, till parting, they smiled.

Voice as forceful as wind when it pleases
All the forests to bend to its will;

But as gentle as breath of a breeze is,
When all sound save its whisper is still.

Hands as stout as the paws of a lion,
With a touch could be soft as a girl's,
In a word—one to set as a scion,
To engraft a god's graces on churls.

And the maid !—all that's fair, fresh and human;
The perfection of provident plan,
That accorded all graces to woman,
Supplementing the strength of the man.

A wood-pecker, tapping, at twilight,
The trunk of the oak tarried late,
And listened and watched till the sky light
Had faded then flew to his mate,

And what he had witnessed narrated,—
“Not to go outside of this nest,—
At least, as by *me* circulated;”—
Has her sex such stories suppressed?—

She told, while he slept, e're the morning,
A wood-pigeon, widowed, a-near,
Who even forgot her forlorning
And paused in her love-plaint to hear,

And hasting away, e're Aurora
Had summoned her herald—the lark,
Lest others should tell it before her
Aroused and told him in the dark,

And he, all alert for surprising
The earliest birds with the theme,
Sped east-ward to meet the Sun rising,
And, winging abreast with its beam,

The story sweet scattered, staccato,
O'er meadow and forest and stream,
Till all the song-birds, obligato,
Awoke, and re-chirped it again.

And so, when the morn came to meet her,
The maiden thought never before
Had songs of the birds sounded sweeter,
Yet, blushed at the burden they bore;

But, thinking that she, and her lover
Alone to their meaning had clue,
She feared not lest others discover;
For he would be secret she knew;

And the birds?—what harm if they prated?
They could not reveal it in words;
And Love *to* love, only, translated
The sweet dialect of the birds.

How learned *I*, you query, the hist'ry?
Go, listen, with ears of the heart,
To Nature, and many a myst'ry
She will, if you woo her, impart!

Thus, heard I, one evening, a wood-dove,
In querulous, coo-ing complaint:
That none of this age understood love
With which the "old times" were acquaint,

Reciting, to prove her assertion
Beyond contraversion as true,

The story, an incomplete version
Of which I've related to you;

But more I'll not tell of their wooing;
'Twould fall on incredulous ears,
Used, only, to list to Love's doings
In these cold, conventional years;—

But, well the white brave wore his winning,
Holding "Heaven's best gift," as from old
All true men have done, till Love, sinning
With Mammon, changed arrows for gold—

Mine, only, to unfold the sequel:
How Love blessing them blessed us all,
Averting an ill threatened equal
On them and our fathers to fall.

Return I again to the maiden,
As, reaching the coveted shore,
With urgenter embassy laden
Than ever embassadress bore,

She leaps from her bark, as 'tis grounding,
With step light as fall of a leaf,
And up the home-path-way is bounding
To arms of her father and chief;—

Arms opening eager to hold her,—
No stoic to joy is the chief,—
Impassive, as time-hardened boulder,
To pain or to peril or grief!

One eager embrace! and I see her
Sink down, on the panther skins near,
And, clasping his knees, fearless free her
Hot heart of its hope and its fear.

His eyes, fierce as eyes of an eagle,
When, warring, he faces his foes,—
When ruling his Council, as regal,—
Grow tender and soft as the doe's;

And bending, he kisses her forehead,
And answers her questioning eyes
With smile that the Sun might have borrowed
To banish a Shade from the skies;—

A gesture!—quick gathering near him
Like clansmen at Rod'rick Dhu's call,
His warriors stand silent to hear him;
A sentence,—a hand-wave—'Tis all!

Now, waiting Night doth intervene,
With curtain of the dark, between
The viewer and the ended scene;—

The welcome Night, who, with glad wings,
Unto the slumb'ring happy, brings
Visions of still happier things;—

The dreaded Night, whose pinions bear,
To sleepless Sorrow and Despair,
The weight of *undistracted* care;—

The welcome Night, who comes to foil
Tax-master Day, and brings the oil
Of rest, to lave the limbs of Toil;—

The dreaded Night, who, unto those
Whose guilt has banished slumber, shows
The gates of pardon sternly close;—

The welcome *or* the dreaded Night,
As, all things dark to *outer* sight,
We meet *ourselves* in *inner* light.

Now, all the modest Stars, that fear
To woo the Earth when Day is near,
Out stealing timorously appear;

And now, behold in eastern skies,
With patient face and saintly eyes
The melancholy Moon arise,

And, with a quiet, queenly grace,
The path-way of her sun-love trace,—
To keep his smile still on her face!

And, dimly lighted by her ray,
I see the runners, sent
To summon succor, on their way
Sink, strength-less, travel-spent;

And, save where weary watchers keep
A vigil neath her beams,
I see the famished group asleep,—
Pray Heaven! they're fed in dreams!

I see the clustered Indian tents
To northward, on the plain
Where Sugar-loaf its brow presents
Far frowning to the main;

And, from their dusky folds, I see
Depart, with stealthy tread,
A band of warriors, silently
By Minnetona led!

No war-paint do their faces wear,
And weapons, all, they lack;
But, bending low, each seems to bear
A burden on his back;—

But what it is I cannot see;
'Tis neither scant nor light,—
What e'er it be, so cautiously
They carry in the night,—

In length'ning line, as, one by one,
More warriors join the train,
Till, save the squaws and children, none
Within the camp remain.—

To follow Minnetona's feet,
They need their swiftest strides
As, like a woodland fairy, fleet
The shore-ward path she glides;

And silently, and swift, as shades
Are merged with darker night,
Amid the deep'ning forest glades
They disappear from sight;

And now, the Moon and Stars and I
Look on a world that rests
As peacefully as birds that lie
Asleep in quiet nests;

Save where the zenithed Moon has cast
A river reaching ray,
Revealing to my sight a vast
Flotilla on its way!

From dark to light, from light to dark,
In single line there glide

Full fifty boats,—a single bark
Far leading, like a guide.

From light to shade, from shade to light,
So swift they pass, each seems
Some phantom form the Moon from night
Doth sculpture with her beams.

Eager, up the eastern hill-sides
Now climb the skirmishers of Day,
While, upon the western, still bides
Night's boding van-guards' dark array!

Now, the Sunbeams, sudden, sally,—
Surprise and hold each western hight,
Driving, downward, to the valley
The flying forces of the Night!

Now, the Dawn's descending pickets
Swift penetrating glens and glades,—
Thrusting through their thronging thickets—
Are slaying there the sheltered Shades!

Now, with dash of dazzling Splendors
Light's level lances charge the plain!
Sullen Night, subdued, surrenders!
The Hemi-sphere is Day's again!

And, waking from unrestful sleeping,
The famished lift their eager eyes,
And open hands to hands still keeping
The manna hoarded in the skies.

But ah! the sweet faced Morning brings
A change presaging better things,
And Hope to Patience closer clings,
As man and Nature, everywhere,
In forest, field, and flood and air
More cheerful countenances wear.

Blithe the North wind, briskly blowing,
Tells, in passing, to the trees
Something sets their gossip going,
Murmurous with mysteries!
What secret tells the passing breeze?

Laughing from its leafy fountains,
Runs the river, as in glee
Bearing from the inland Mountains
Tidings glad of good to be!
What good news bears it to the Sea?

Blithely now, men's voices, rising,
With a glad sound fill the air,
As of angels' speech apprising
Anxious souls of answered prayer!
What answer is it glads them there?

Listless limbs, that late were drooping,
Strengthen, as electric thrilled;
Feeble forms, grown straight from stooping,
Sudden are with vigor filled!
What has, to strength, their weakness willed?

Lately faint and quavering voices,
Steadied now and clarion-clear,
Utter language that rejoices
Tongues to speak and hearts to hear!
What tell their tongues their hearts can cheer?

Eyes, late lusterless and glazing,
 Beaming are, anew, with light,—
As if gladdened by their gazing
 On some blessing, dawning bright!
What dawning vision glads their sight?

Changed the piteous plaint of childhood
 To a cheerful caroling—
Makes the warblers of the wild-wood
 Chirp such songs as welcome Spring!
What are the children welcoming?

Implements of toil, late resting
 Where, from hopeless hands, they fell,
Seized with purpose fresh, are testing
 Truth of promises that tell:
"To trusting toil all shall be well!"

And those hands, in prayer late lifted,
 Close, as if to grasp the good,
Answering prayers, by which are shifted
 Burdens under which they've stood
With such heroic hardihood!

What has wrought this transformation?—
 What has braved the broken band?
Lo!—confronting now Starvation,
 Hope, *with* Faith, serene doth stand,
And smiles upon the border land!

Bidding them, who, soul-steadfastly,
 Direst ill have long withstood,
To their recompense led lastly,
 Confidently wait a good,
That swiftly nears the solitude.

Shall miracles be now renewed?
Shall Earth again be manna-strewed?
Again come raven bearing food?
In vain my eyes search everywhere;—
From forest, field or flood or air
Comes nothing bringing succor there!

But, behold! who are these who are stealing
So silently up from the landing,
One by one their dark figures revealing,
And now in the open are standing,

Forward bending, the better for bearing
The burdens with which they are laden;
And with eyes for no other eyes caring
Than those of their leader—a Maiden!

Pale thee whiter, pale chief! they are red men!—
Five score of the race thou abhorrest,
Who are standing now, stilly as dead men,
At bid of—the Fawn of the Forest!

Minnetona! whose brown eyes no longer
Are troubled or tearful or fearing,
But aglow with love-light growing stronger
As hope to fruition is nearing.

Minnetona! whose russet-red forehead
Not now is o'er shadowed with frowning,
But is bright as a cliff that has borrowed
A sunbeam of Morn for its crowning.

Now, at entrance of the clearing,
Not a moment does she waste;
But, with modest mien, appearing

By a grandness also graced,
And a smile that stayed their fearing,
The wondering whites has faced.

At her gesture of commanding,
Swift her followers surround
The pale-face circle, standing
In bewilderment profound;
And each quietly, disbanding,
Lays his burden on the ground.

As each pack is opened, streaming
Like the manna from the skies,
Heaps of golden corn are gleaming,
And so high outspread and rise,
That supply, exhaustless seeming,
Feeds our famished Father's eyes!

And red venison haunches, vieing
With the harvest at their feet,
Are in lavish largess lying,
With all's succulent and sweet
Of dame Nature's kind supplying
That the wood-land-wise ones eat.

Well is face of Minnetona
Known among that pilgrim band;
Well they know her warriors throne her,
As crown-princess of the land,
Little need she then make known her
Right to take the royal hand

Of her kingly sire, and, facing
The white chieftain and his race—
Whose red joy is swiftly chasing
The white wonder from the face—

MINNETONA, OR THE INDIAN GIFT.

And the red in white hand placing
Leave them, clasped in close embrace.

Ah! as rugged red hand presses
White hand weak and thin and wan,
Surely, clasp of each confesses,—
As such hand-clasp better can
Than tutored tongue's addresses,—
The kindredship of man!

Now, a white brave gently leading
Minnetona to the pair,
Waits with anxious eyes the heeding
Of the chiefs in hand-clasp there,
Till both fathers meet their pleading
Children's gaze, and guess their prayer.

Gently fall their hands, united,
And on the lovers' rest,
And the troth the bird heard plighted,
To the whole world is confessed,
And when Hymen's torch is lighted
Shall be ratified and blessed.

Now, all white with red hands friending,
Grander tableau, manifold,
Than, when kingly contests ending
York and Lancaster, of old,
Roses red and white were blending,
My delighted eyes behold;

For, methinks, those hands now meeting
Never more will meet in strife;
And those hearts accordant beating,
With fraternal feelings rife,
An alliance are completing
That shall last each races life;

But, as I *lower* the faithful glass,
Scenes panoramic *nearer* pass
That sequel strange reveal, alas!
And, pained and wondering, I see
Succeeding scenes that should not be
To mock my hopeful prophesy:

I see advancing Avarice gain
Possession of each Indian plain
Where grew the generous-given grain;
And worse!—Ah, sadder recompense
Than history of all time presents
To compensate beneficence,—
I see the golden harvest shorn
Back to the benefactors borne
In form that makes the angels mourn:—
By Hell's craft chemistry distilled
To liquid fire that, fury-filled,
Kills kindness in the kindly willed!

I see the settlers spreading farms
Now tilled by white hands, bearing arms
To fend the red hands threatened harms !
Instead of fraternizing band,
The red and white as foe-men stand,
With weapon, each, in hate-nerved hand;
And, falling fast with sickening thud
The Indian's hatchet drains the blood
From veins his bounty helped to flood;
While white men's bullets, sternly sped,
Stretch, through the frightened forest, dead
The hands that late their famished fed;
And, from the hutted hamlets rise
Fierce flames that nightly paint the skies
With hues delighting demon's eyes !

Was never in the world, I wis,
A "sequitur" that so did miss
Its "premise" promise as does this!

But Minnetona! where is she?
Far in the distance I can see
And Indian train fare westwardly;

From wonted ways, unwilling gone,
Far from the regions of the dawn,
They follow still the Forest Fawn;

And, swiftly, to the western main,
In rear and flank, the greedy grain
Is forcing on the fleeing train;

From every stand for which they've striven
Still, step by step, they're sternly driven
By grain that grew from grain they've given!

Behind them close, the golden ears!
Behind them close, the yellow spears!
Behind them Avarice mocks and jeers!

Still goaded by the white man's greed,
In vain for resting place they plead,—
"The white man's grain the land doth need!"

No refuge finds the flying train;
From mountain, forest and from plain
Pursues them still the cruel grain!

In vain their tents on prairies placed,
Where million acres are at waste,—
Again, by bristling grain-spears faced,

They turn and fly, until, aghast
On shores of western ocean vast,
I see them stand, at bay at last!

At bay?—as well might shifting sand,
That shores a tempest beaten land,
At bay against the ocean stand!

How long, just dealing Heaven! how long
Shall thus unchecked this wanton Wrong
Make thrift alliance with the strong?

How long before our country, known,
Of all the world as Justice's throne,
Shall cease injustice to its own?

I sadly lay aside the glass, and gaze
Upon the busy scenes before my eyes,
Wherein the prosperous Present proud displays
The garnered good of fruitful centuries,
And marvel, as I mark the march of Thrift,
What might have been *without* the Indian Gift,—

And, faintly, from the far-off sunset shore,
I hear a war-cry—stifled by a moan,
Whereby, I know a wretched race once more,
At fatal odds, contends,—not for its own,
Which was an ocean-bounded continent—
But for a place to pitch a peaceful tent!

And now there comes, from out the warring bands,
An Indian maid, with queenly step and air,
Who calmly in the pale-face council stands
And asks the *Pilgrims'* sons for justice there.
Oh! Statesmen! heed her! and to "Bright Eyes" make
Atonement apt,—for "Minnetona's" sake!

DECEMBER 6, 1881.—QUARTERLY MEETING.

After some introductory remarks, the PRESIDENT read the following historical address, which was originally delivered by Hon. Oliver B. Morris in the First Church in Springfield, May 25, 1836, on the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the town, and which has never been printed :

BI-CENTENNIAL ADDRESS—1836.

The occasion which has brought us together is one of deep and joyful interest. We have come to do homage to the memory of our Fathers; to examine the record of their history; and to bow in humble gratitude to Heaven that we are descended from a most worthy ancestry. On this day, consecrated to high and holy purposes, we travel back through two hundred years. We behold a little company of Pilgrims just arrived on the banks of our beautiful river. We see them in the very midst of an unbroken wilderness, spreading out their tents beneath the trees of the primeval forest. They have broken away from the land of their birth and the scenes of their childhood. They have surmounted the dangers of the ocean. They have threaded their pathless way through the tangled woods, and over the deep morasses, that lie between the bay and the river. They have at last found a resting-place for themselves and their little ones, and here, on this very spot, where is now the much loved place of our habitation, they are establishing a home for themselves and their children. We call up before us their venerable forms, and see them taking solemn possession of the land to which God has brought them, and we hear them bearing aloft the hymn of gratitude, that their painful journeyings are ended and their weary pilgrimage accomplished. We look again, and we see them parting out to each one an inheritance in the new found soil, and framing regulations for the government of their little community. In the very first pledge they gave to each other, we discover the spirit of the men. "We intend," such is the expressive language of their first resolve, "we intend, by God's grace, as soon as we can, with all con-

venient speed, to procure some Godly and faithful minister, with whom we propose to join in church covenant to walk in all the ways of Christ." The venerable records of that day have come down to us. We prize them as precious memorials of the piety and wisdom and self-devotion of our Fathers. We will keep them safely. We will transmit them, every page, and line and letter of them to those who shall come after us. And when an hundred years more shall have passed away, and every individual of this great assembly shall have joined the congregation of the dead, and another generation shall repeat these rites of commemoration, these records shall still remain, the cherished and enduring evidences of the holy zeal and lofty principles, and undaunted perseverance of our venerated ancestors.

The causes which led to the settlement of New England are known to you all. They had their origin in the reformation. Europe then awoke from the slumber of ages, and in the time of the Eighth Henry, England broke away from the spiritual dominion of the Roman Pontiff. By slow degrees the public mind became enlightened, and as the reformation advanced the principles of civil and religious liberty began to be distinctly understood. A spirit of inquiry was awakened among the people. Men began to think and act for themselves, and multitudes looked to the Bible, and the Bible only, for the true light to guide them in their journey to heaven. But the age of toleration had not yet come. A national religion was established by law, and non-conformity to all its rites, was a crime to be punished with the greatest severity. Ministers of the gospel who dared to advocate a purer faith were excluded from the pulpits of the hierarchy. The right of public discussion, and even that of private judgment was denied. The flames of persecution were lighted all around the land. The Puritans were forbidden to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, in their most secret retirements, and were pursued with unrelenting vigor even to the domestic altar. In the thronged city, and in the most obscure village, they were hunted down by the minions of an intolerant monarch, or the ferocious agents of a more intolerant priesthood. Their own firesides were

invaded, and their dwelling-houses were to them no castles of safety. In these circumstances, what should they do? They could not renounce their religion. This was dearer to them than their own lives. Should they abandon their homes, the places of their strong affections? Whither should they fly? The members of one little church sought refuge in Holland, but Holland was to them a strange land, and after a brief sojourn there, they resolved to seek an asylum in the new-found continent. Commending themselves to the favor and protection of God, they embarked for America, and on the eleventh day of November, sixteen hundred and twenty, they arrived in the harbor of Cape Cod.

I may not stop to describe their perilous wanderings along the shores of an inhospitable coast, before they landed on the rock at Plymouth. The record of their sufferings is on the page of the faithful historian, and in the hearts of a grateful posterity. Genius and learning have found abundant materials for eloquence and song in the hardships they endured, and the dangers they encountered in the first years of their colonial existence. Good men of every age and country have done homage to their virtues, and the institutions they founded are enduring monuments of their wisdom, and have made their names immortal. Yes, O, yes, the names of Carver and Bradford, and Winslow, and Brewster, and Standish, and Hopkins, and Alden, and their companions of the Mayflower, are, indeed, immortal. The shores on which they landed may again become a wilderness, the towns which they planted may be deserted, New England itself may cease to be the abode of civilized man, but the place of New England's origin will still be remembered, and the names of the Pilgrim Fathers will live forever.

The Puritans who remained in England were sustained by the hope that the storm of persecution would soon pass over, and the clear light of civil and religious liberty shine upon them. But year after year rolled away, and no bright vision rose before them in their native land. If they would enjoy the rights of conscience, they must plant their churches in the wilderness. New England, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, had already been

granted to the Council of Plymouth. In 1628, six gentlemen of Dorchester became proprietors of the whole territory of Massachusetts. Three of them soon parted with their interest to the principal founders of the colony. A royal charter was obtained, and a company dispatched under the guidance of John Endicott, to enter upon and possess the land. This company settled at Salem. Others were preparing to follow, and it was resolved to transfer the charter itself, with all the powers of government it conferred, to New England. A governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, were chosen, who were willing to emigrate, and in April, 1630, the venerable Fathers of Massachusetts embarked on board four ships, the *Arbella*, *Talbot*, *Ambrose* and *Jewel*, and arrived at Salem in the following June. Never has a more precious freight surmounted the waters of the Atlantic than that borne in the vessels of this little fleet. Never have the breezes of the ocean wafted to our shores ships more richly laden. Never, since the earliest days of Christianity, has the world beheld a more interesting spectacle than that exhibited by these intrepid voyagers. Men and women, some of whom had moved in the highest circles in their own land, many of them accustomed to the luxuries, and all of them to the conveniences of cultivated life, had abandoned all these, and were seeking, beyond the great sea, a far-off home in the wilderness. They knew that dangers were everywhere before them and around them, that disease in unknown forms might invade them, that death might soon strike them down, and send them to premature graves in a strange land. Yet none of these things moved them. With the Bible in their hands, the Spirit of God in their hearts, and His blessing on their heads, they were not to be turned aside from their onward course. They knew that, instead of the pleasant dwellings and comfortable lodging places they had left behind them, they must spread their tables amid the haunts of savage men, and take their rest almost in the very lair of the wild beast of the forest. But they knew, too, in whom they trusted, and they confided in his promise that he "would give his angels charge over them to keep them in all their ways."

Immediately on their arrival, they set about the work they came to perform. Within three days after the termination of their voyage, they were at the Bay, selecting places for the new plantations. Settlements were commenced at Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, Dorchester and Watertown, and on the eighth day of July a general thanksgiving was kept. On the twenty-third day of August, the earliest Court in Massachusetts was holden at Charlestown.

We cannot, on this occasion, examine minutely the history of the infant colony. It would indeed be a delightful exercise to mark every stage of its progress. Our Fathers were then laying the foundation of the noble edifice which has come down to us—a precious inheritance. We can only look at the groundwork and pass on. During the summer of 1630, seventeen ships arrived from England, bringing over about sixteen hundred passengers. The sufferings of the colonists in the first year of their pilgrimage were extreme. To provide even tolerable houses was necessarily a work of time, and only a few months remained to them before the coming on of a New England winter. The efforts of many were paralyzed by disease, and before the close of September, some of their principal men had sunk into the embraces of the grave. Their provisions, too, began to fail, and all the horrors of an impending famine seemed about to overtake them. Such was the scarcity of corn, that many used ground nuts and acorns instead of bread, and the historian of Massachusetts relates that, when one came to the Governor's house to complain, he was prevented by learning that even there the last handful of meal was already in the oven. In the face of all this array of horrors, the colonists were undismayed. A few, indeed, more timid than the rest, became discouraged, and returned to England, but the great body kept right onward. They were stout-hearted and true-hearted men. They believed that they were doing God's work, and they had an unwavering confidence in the protection of an Almighty arm. They did not, for a single moment, yield to despondency, or permit themselves to doubt of ultimate success in their holy enterprise. In their darkest and gloomiest hours, a

light from heaven shone in upon them, to cheer and guide them in their way. Amid all their sufferings, one universal feeling of gratitude rose to heaven for all their mercies. It is related of one good man that, receiving a visit from a friend, he had nothing to set before him but a dish of clams, yet instead of apologizing for the meager diet, or lamenting the circumstance, on rising from the table, he devoutly rendered thanks to God that he had given them "to suck of the abundance of the seas and the treasures hid in the sand."

Governor Winthrop, in a letter to his wife, who came not over till the second year, after mentioning the afflictions of his brethren and the death of some of his friends, says, "Thus the Lord is pleased still to humble us, yet he mixes so many mercies with his corrections, that we are persuaded he will not cast us off but in due time will do us good according to the measure of our afflictions. I thank God, I like so well to be here, that I do not repent my coming, and if I were to come again I would not have altered my course, tho' I had foreseen all these afflictions. The Lord is all sufficient, blessed be His holy name. He is our God and may dispose of us as he sees good." Admirable man! No wonder that his memory is embalmed in the affections of a grateful community. No wonder that his venerated name still awakens in every New England bosom the warmest feelings of gratitude. He was indeed the leader of a chosen people, the presiding genius, among the master spirits who laid the foundations of our Commonwealth.

Who among us can read his record of the services and sufferings of the Fathers of Massachusetts, and not cling more closely to the blessed privileges which those services and sufferings procured? Who among us can gaze without strong emotions upon his venerable form as preserved upon the canvas? Would that honorable Senators in all coming time, as they look upon his portait suspended in their hall, might catch something of his spirit, imitate his noble example, and like him consecrate all their powers to the service of the whole people.

Connecticut river became first known to the English in 1631. In the same year a Plymouth bark, returning from the South,

touched at its mouth and perhaps sailed a little way up the stream. In September, 1633, John Oldham, Samuel Hall and two other men, all of Dorchester, traversed the wilderness from the bay to the river. These were probably the first white men who trod the soil of our beautiful valley. Their objects were to explore the country and trade with the inhabitants. In all their journey they were treated with great hospitality by the natives, and lodged every night in their wigwams. The Indians of the river received them kindly and made them presents of beaver. They found in the rich meadows hemp growing in great abundance, and of an excellent quality. Some of this, with other products of the soil, they carried back to their friends, and made report of the land, describing it as an exceedingly good land, and well watered. In October, 1633, a company of Plymouth men, led by William Holmes, sailed up the river as high as Windsor, and built a house just below the mouth of the little river. This was undoubtedly the first dwelling-house erected in the valley of the Connecticut. The Dutch, from New Netherlands, had a few days before entered the river and thrown up a slight fort at the place now called Dutch point in Hartford. They soon after built a house and called it the "hirse of good hope." In 1634, the people of several towns began seriously to agitate the subject of removing hither. The number of inhabitants had become greatly increased, and the colony was constantly receiving fresh accessions from the mother country. The storm of persecution still raged in England, and multitudes were seeking a retreat from its fury on these shores. Hooker and Cotton and many others of a kindred spirit, were already here. These great lights had been extinguished in the Father land, but were rekindled at the fires of New England altars, and were shining with augmented lustre in New England temples. In the month of July, six men were sent from Newtown to Connecticut river, to explore the country and select a place for settlement, and in the following September the people of that town made an unsuccessful application to the General Court for liberty to remove thither. Early in 1635, the application was renewed, and the desired permission obtained. The same privi-

lege was extended to the people of Dorchester and Watertown. On the sixth day of May in the same year, the General Court granted liberty to the inhabitants of Roxbury to remove to any place they should think meet, not to prejudice any other plantation, provided they continued under the Government of Massachusetts. The permission given to the other towns was upon the like condition. The Dorchester people set down at Windsor, the Watertown people at Weathersfield, and the Newtown people at Hartford. Some of the Dorchester people were at Windsor early in the summer, as were also a few of the Watertown people at Weathersfield. The Newtown people commenced their settlement late in the succeeding autumn.

William Pynchon, Esquire, was the principal founder of the town of Roxbury. He was a gentleman of Essex, a man of wealth and talents. His name appears in the charter of 1628, as one of the assistants, and he was again chosen while in England in 1629. He came over in the fleet with Winthrop in 1630, was sometime treasurer of the colony, and always a Magistrate till his removal from Roxbury. He was the leader of the little band who first planted our town. From a somewhat minute examination of our ancient records, and manuscripts, I am induced to believe that Mr. Pynchon with his son-in-law Henry Smith, and Jehu Burr, and perhaps others of Roxbury, visited this river in 1634, explored the valley, and selected a place for their future settlement. This was before permission was given them to remove. In 1635, soon after they had obtained this permission, two men were sent up to build a house for the plantation. Their names were John Cable and John Woodcock. They were five days on their journey from Roxbury to the river. They built a house on the west side of the Connecticut, and on the south bank of the Agawam. The building of this house was a common charge upon all the planters, and cost six pounds. Cable and Woodcock continued here through the summer, occupied the house after it was completed, and cultivated a portion of the old planting ground of the Indians directly opposite this village. Whether they remained here during the succeeding winter or returned to Roxbury in the autumn

is not certainly known. The tradition is that they returned. It is a curious fact that the first civil action on record tried in this town, and of course in any part of Massachusetts, west of the county of Middlesex, had its origin in the building of that house. Woodcock was plaintiff and Cable defendant. The trial was had November 14, 1639, before Mr. Pyncheon and a jury of six men.

We have no means by which we can ascertain the precise time when the first planters commenced their journey through the wilderness. Mr. Pyncheon sent his goods around by water in Governor Winthrop's bark, the "Blessing of the Bay," which sailed from Boston on the 26th day of April, 1636. Pyncheon, Smith, Burr and others were here on the 14th day of May, and on that day agreed upon certain rules, by which they were to be governed in the management of the concerns of the town, and in the division of the lands. This agreement was signed by eight men, and two days afterwards allotments were made to twelve. These allotments were all east of the river. The plan of fixing their residence on the other side was probably abandoned in consequence of information derived from the Indians that the place they had chosen and where they had erected their house, was subject to frequent inundations from the overflowing of the waters. It is a singular circumstance that not one of the twelve to whom the first allotments were made, remained in this town till his death. Two of them died in England, five went to the lower towns on the river, and of the remainder we have no account. It is, however, by no means certain that the first company consisted of only twelve. We know that some whose names do not appear on the earliest record, were here in the course of the summer. The first Indian deed was made to Pyncheon, Smith and Burr, on the 15th of July, and Richard Everett, Thomas Horton and Joseph Parsons, neither of them of the twelve, were among the subscribing witnesses to its execution. Parsons was probably then a youth, but Everett and Horton were soon after actively engaged in the concerns of the plantation. The town certainly did not experience a rapid increase in the number of its inhabitants in

the first years of its existence. Indeed it was among the very first orders that it should in no event be composed of more than fifty families, "rich and poor." It has been conjectured that some of the first comers went immediately away, and that others supplied their places. Be this as it may, after the expiration of two years when a tax was levied, but thirteen persons were assessed, and of these, four only had allotments at the beginning. The amount of this tax was forty-one pounds, four shillings, of which Mr. Pyncheon himself paid more than a moiety.

The founders of our town were indeed a little band. But they were men of hardy enterprise, with whole souls and true hearts. If difficulties were in their way, they surmounted them; if dangers were before them they met them manfully, and overcame them. With untiring efforts, and an almost sleepless energy they went right about their proper work. Before the winter overtook them they had provided comfortable dwellings for their families. True they were log-houses with thatched roofs. But what were log-houses and thatched roofs to men of their spirit. They did not come here to find the luxuries and conveniences of cultivated life. They expected hardships and privations and were prepared for them. The inventory of each man's household furniture was easily told. Among the earliest I have seen, generally but a single feather bed is enumerated. A few of the most common and necessary articles of domestic use, always including a spinning-wheel and a cradle, make up the whole.

Before the close of 1637, our Fathers had accomplished some of the leading purposes for which they came. In that year, the first church in this town, that which usually worships in this house, was gathered, and the Rev. George Moxon was settled over it in the ministry. The building of a meeting-house was commenced in 1645 and completed the next year. I have already stated that when the first planters on Connecticut river obtained permission to remove from the Bay, it was upon the express condition that they should remain within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. In 1636, Mr. Pyncheon was re-elected an Assistant of the Colony. He did not attend the Court of Elections

in May, but was present in September and took the oath, and his seat as a magistrate. In the same year the General Court gave a commission to Roger Ludlow, William Pynchon and others to govern the inhabitants of the new plantation. Ludlow had been a magistrate in Massachusetts, and once Deputy Governor of the Colony. He was the leading man in the settlement of Windsor. His commission was limited to one year, but was renewed in 1637, after which time Massachusetts ceased to exercise any authority over the lower towns, and this town remained united with them till 1639. Mr. Pynchon attended the courts in Connecticut as a magistrate, and once, at least, delegates were chosen to represent this plantation.

In May, 1637, occurred the memorable expedition against the Pequots, a war-like tribe seated along the shores of the Sound, principally where are now the towns of New London and Groton. The troops were commanded by Capt. John Mason of Windsor, and on the issue of the contest depended the very existence of the towns on the river. A tax was imposed upon all the Plantations to defray the expenses of the war, and according to the venerable historian of Connecticut, the sum assessed upon this town was eighty-six pounds, sixteen shillings. Our records are entirely silent on the subject, and it is not now known that any individual of this town was personally engaged in this most perilous enterprise. One man, then of Windsor, the ancestor of some of our present inhabitants, was in the thickest of the fight. The succeeding winter was one of uncommon severity. The planters had indeed been delivered by the heroism of a few intrepid warriors, from the terrors of the tomahawk and scalping knife; but other dangers awaited them. A load of debt incurred in the recent conflict, pressed heavily upon them. The most necessary articles of food and clothing had become extremely scarce, especially in the lower towns. As the spring opened, vigorous exertions were made to supply the wants. Capt. Mason and two others went among the Indians above, then perfectly friendly to the whites, in search of bread stuffs. Their mission was entirely successful. On that occasion our river exhibited a spectacle probably never before, certainly never since

seen upon its waters. A fleet of fifty canoes, laden with corn, the produce of the rich meadows of Pocumtuck, was at once launched upon the stream, and borne onward by the force of the current, and urged forward by the powerful arm of the red-man, carried instant relief to the half-starved, suffering strangers.

Early in 1639, it having been ascertained that this town was within the limits of the Massachusetts patent, its union with Connecticut was dissolved. The condition of the planters was at this time peculiar. No person had authority to administer justice among them and no instructions had been received from the General Court. They were alone in the wilderness, far from the other towns in the Colony. In this emergency, the people instituted a government for themselves, appointed the mode of its administration and elected Mr. Pyncheon their magistrate. They did not invest him with unlimited authority. The power they conferred was accurately defined and its exercise judiciously regulated. The government thus established was to continue only until the pleasure of the General Court should be known and its orders received. The instrument creating it in the handwriting of Pyncheon himself, is now upon our records and there may it forever remain, a practical illustration of the wisdom of our Fathers. These proceedings were subsequently approved by the General Court, and Mr. Pyncheon confirmed in his office. In 1643, he was again chosen an assistant of the Colony, and was annually re-elected till 1650. The original name of the plantation was Agawam. This name it retained until April 16, 1640, when the inhabitants, in a general meeting, ordained that thereafter it should be called Springfield.

At the beginning, the limits of the town were not very accurately fixed. When the Planters determined that it should in no event be composed of more than fifty families, they probably considered it as extending only six or eight miles up and down the river, and perhaps two or three miles each way from its banks. Before the year 1650, its boundaries had become greatly enlarged and embraced nearly all the territory, lying within the present towns of Springfield, West Springfield, Wilbraham,

Longmeadow, Ludlow, Westfield, Southwick, Suffield, Enfield and Somers. There were, however, as yet no settlements beyond this village, excepting a single house near the mouth of Chicopee river and two or three in Longmeadow. In 1653, some of the inhabitants removed to the west side of the river, and others soon went to Longmeadow, but the planting of the other towns was delayed until several years after.

In 1650, an incident occurred of gloomy portent to the prosperity of the town. It will be borne in mind that from the beginning, Mr. Pyncheon was the leader of this people. In him they reposed the most perfect confidence. He was their Magistrate, Counsellor, and Friend, a man of inflexible purpose and unyielding perseverance, of the purest morals and the most undoubted piety. He sustained the feeble, cheered the desponding and confirmed the wavering. He shared largely in the public burdens, himself paying at least a moiety of the public charges. In every matter of general concernment he was the first; in every enterprise for the public good, the foremost. His influence in the Colony was great. An assistant at the beginning, chosen in England, and re-chosen almost every subsequent year, the founder of two towns, one of them an outpost of civilized life, himself the sentinel on the outer wall, it would seem that such a man, at such a time, by such a people, and under such circumstances could not be spared. His removal would be a public calamity, an omen of evil, and only evil, to the little town he had planted, in the far off wilderness. But he had written a book. This had been sent to England, there published, and copies were received at Boston, in the summer of this year. Its appearance there produced an unusual excitement. Endicott, the sternest of the Puritans, was then Governor of the Colony, and Dudley, who had a kind of holy horror of every religious opinion, not his own, held the second place. These with the other leading men, at once condemned it as heretical in sentiment and the clergy with united voice denounced it, as tending to subvert the faith of the churches. The General Court alarmed at the new opinions, summoned the author to appear before them, suspended him from the Magis-

tracy and appointed Mr. Norton of Ipswich, to write an answer to his book. The ministers were earnestly requested to labor with him, and if possible to convince him of his error, and procure a recantation, and they were in some measure successful. From an examination of the records of that day, I cannot resist the conviction that the prominent actors were influenced by a strong sense of duty in all their proceedings, and that they indulged towards Mr. Pyncheon, no feelings but those of kindness. They regarded him as a beloved, though an erring brother, and manifested both by their language and deportment an anxious solicitude to convince and reclaim him. But the unfortunate Book experienced no mercy at their hands. It was condemned by the whole Court, and sentenced to be publicly burnt, and this sentence was fully executed in Boston market, in the presence of all the faithful.

In 1651, Henry Smith, who had married a daughter of Pyncheon, was appointed to exercise the powers of a magistrate within the town of Springfield, for one year, or until the further order of the General Court. In 1652, both Pyncheon and Smith went back to England, from whence they never returned. Whether Mr. Pyncheon at the time of his departure intended to take a final leave of the town, or again to return, is unknown. He had buried his wife before his removal from Roxbury, but he had one son and three daughters, all of whom he left in New England. Smith, certainly, did not then expect to abandon the country, for he left his wife and two daughters, his whole family, behind him. His wife after the lapse of three or four years followed her husband to England, but his daughters still remained, and were married at Hartford, where some of his descendants now reside.

In the same year, and I know not but at the same time, Mr. Moxon, the minister of the town, dissolved his connection with this people, sold his estate here, and returned to England. It has been conjectured by some, that he had embraced the peculiar opinions advanced by Mr. Pyncheon in his book, and on that account was induced to forsake a country where they found so little favor. It may be so, but I am inclined to ascribe his

removal to a very different cause. Our ancestors were believers in witchcraft. By an early law of the Colony, persons convicted of this crime, were to be punished with death. The first instance of its supposed existence in New England occurred in this town. Two of Mr. Moxon's children were thought to be mysteriously affected, through the agency of a malignant, but unseen hand. Their miserable condition excited the sympathies of the awe-struck villagers, and great exertions were made to discover the authors of the strange calamity. Several persons were suspected, but at length the crime was publicly charged upon the wife of Hugh Parsons. She seems to have been a woman of a nervous, melancholy temperament, and subject to occasional fits of insanity. In March, 1651, probably while in a state of partial derangement, she killed one of her own children, an infant of about five months old. This, by an excited community, was considered conclusive evidence of her guilt, not only of murder, but of witchcraft. She was immediately arrested, conveyed to Boston, and committed to prison to await her trial. On the seventh day of May, the court being then in session, she was found to be so very sick, that, as the record expresses it, it was feared she would die in prison. Thereupon, she was brought into court, and arraigned on a charge of having made a league with a familiar spirit to hurt Martha and Rebekah Moxon. She pleaded not guilty, and was acquitted. She was instantly arraigned for the murder of her child, pleaded guilty, and received sentence of death, but was reprieved, as the record hath it, to the 29th of May, before which time she probably died, as no further mention is made of her case. In the next year, her husband was tried for witchcraft and convicted by the jury, but the magistrates not consenting to the verdict the matter was referred to the General Court, which judged that he was not legally guilty, and discharged him. Mr. Moxon undoubtedly partook of the general excitement, and firmly believed that his daughters were under an evil hand. Not being able to bring their imaginary tormentors to the punishment he thought they deserved, he forsook the people of his charge and the home of his adoption, and abandoned the

country forever. About the same time the witches retired from the town, and I have no account that they have since been here. At a subsequent period they returned to the river, and caused much disturbance among the good people of Northampton and Hadley, but the principal theater of their unhallowed operations was in a distant part of the colony.

The removal of three such men was undoubtedly considered an inauspicious event by the inhabitants of the infant settlement. But they did not for a moment despond. Pynchon had left behind him a son, then in early manhood, who inherited all his Father's virtues. The General Court immediately appointed this son, with Elizur Holyoke, his brother-in-law, and Samuel Chapin (the ancestor of all of that name in New England), commissioners to exercise the powers of magistracy in this town. The administration of justice remained in their hands till 1658, when, by an order of the General Court, they were joined with the commissioners of Northampton and directed annually to keep a court in each town. The settlement of Northampton was commenced in 1654. The first planters of that town, went principally from Windsor and Springfield. The ancestors of the Parsons, Wrights, Stebbins, Burts, Bridgemans, Edwards and Searles, all early settlers of Northampton, were originally of this town. About the year 1660, a portion of the Hartford and Weathersfield people, with Gov. Webster at their head, removed to Hadley and began a plantation there. In 1662, the three towns were made a county, embracing within its limits a part of the present county of Worcester and the whole territory west to the line of New York.

Our fathers, although deserted by their spiritual leader, did not themselves desert the house of God. They made immediate exertions to procure the settlement of another minister. For several years their exertions were ineffectual. A Mr. Hosford was with them for a single year. He was succeeded by a Mr. Thompson, who remained about as long. Mr. Samuel Hooker, a son of the venerated Father of the Connecticut churches, ministered to them in holy things for a season. Him they would gladly have retained, but Providence assigned him to another

post of duty. Even when they could find no one to break to them the bread of life, they did not forsake the assembling of themselves together. Every returning Sabbath found them on the hill of Zion. From time to time they chose some of their holiest and most gifted men to lead in the public devotions of the sanctuary, and this choice was made by all the inhabitants in their municipal assemblies. Their efforts to obtain a stated minister were at length successful, and in 1661, Mr. Pelatiah Glover, a son of the Hon. John Glover of Dorchester, was duly constituted pastor of the church in Springfield. Mr. Glover was an able man, of high literary attainments, and a faithful minister of Christ. He was exceedingly beloved by his people, and continued with them, sharing in all their perils and afflictions, and they were many, till March 29, 1692, when in the expressive language of the record, "he fell asleep in Jesus."

At the time of Mr. Glover's ordination the number of inhabitants in the town had considerably increased, and new settlements were commenced. Grants of land had been made at Woronoco, Freshwater and Stoney Brook, now Westfield, Enfield and Suffield, and small plantations were begun at each of those places. These grants were made by this town, and the settlements were under the supervision of the municipal authorities here. During the succeeding fourteen years the condition of the towns on the river was generally prosperous. Before the close of this period, settlements had been commenced at Deerfield and Northfield, and also at Brookfield, then within the county of Hampshire. The settlement of the latter town was effected through the agency of the people of Springfield.

With the year 1675, commenced the darkest period of the history of New England. Until then, with the exception of the short but decisive conflict with the Pequots, the English and the Indians had been at peace. Instances of individual aggression on the one side and on the other had sometimes occurred, but the general harmony of the two races remained unbroken. Offices of kindness were constantly interchanged by the parties, and a sort of commercial intercourse, mutually beneficial, was carried on between them. The Indian hunter, accustomed to the pursuit of

the otter and the beaver, brought his furs to the warehouse of the English trader, and received in return the axe, the hoe, and the shovel, to facilitate his scanty agriculture, or perhaps cloth of English manufacture, to protect him from the cold of his almost polar winter. The pressing wants of the English were sometimes supplied from the cornfields of the Indians, and the Indians, in their turn, were often fed from the granaries of the English. Articles of convenience and necessity were commonly sold by the English to the Indians, and Indian wampum, in the days of our fathers, was always "current money with the merchant." The government of the colony indeed prohibited the sale of fire-arms and strong waters to the Indians, and the policy was a wise one. Fire-arms in their hands would have been dangerous to the whites, and strong waters certain destruction to themselves. The founders of New England came not to inflict injury upon the roving tenant of the forest. It was no purpose of theirs to drive him from the abode of his fathers. It was in their hearts to do him good. They did not discuss the right of a few tribes of wandering and untamed men to appropriate to themselves a territory large enough, under the influence of civilization, to support an immense population. They knew that the Indian was a savage, a poor, degraded, licentious savage, and they would have redeemed him from his degradation and elevated him to the proper rank of a rational and immortal being. They knew he was a heathen, ignorant alike of his origin and his destiny, yet they saw in him a man, created in God's image, and they would have poured upon his dark understanding the light of a revelation which came down from heaven. In all their intercourse with the Indians the New England colonists observed the obligations of good faith. If they made treaties with them, those treaties were sacred. If they promised them protection, that protection was afforded. If they gave them pledges, those pledges were redeemed. They did not "palter with them in a double sense, and keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope." O, no, the disgrace of perfidy to the Indians belongs not to our fathers. This foul dishonor rests not on their fair fame. If it were not so, the dark spot of

guilt would now appear upon their escutcheon. All coming time could not efface it, all the waters of the ocean could not wash it away. The Colonists of Massachusetts considered the different tribes of Indians within the bounds of their patent as so many independent communities. They claimed no right to their lands until they had purchased them, and no control over their persons until the Indians had themselves sought their protection and submitted to their jurisdiction. I find in the early history of New England, abundant evidence to sustain these positions. One striking illustration of their truth I cannot forbear to state. In the summer of 1648, four or five wandering Indians murdered two or three of the Quabaug tribe, and sought refuge among the Naucotaks, then inhabiting the region where are now the towns of Northampton and Hadley. The Nashuas, in behalf of the Quabaugs, applied to the magistrates at Boston to assist in the apprehension of the fugitives, falsely representing that all the parties were subjects of the colony. The magistrates wrote to Mr. Pynchon, requesting him to cause the murderers to be arrested and conveyed to Boston for trial. He at once saw that deception had been practiced, and wrote to the other magistrates on the subject. His letter is dated "Springfield, this 5 day of the 5 mo., 1648." After acknowledging the receipt of their letter, and the reason by them assigned for their action in the matter, he says: "If things be well examined, I apprehend that neither the murdered are your subjects, nor yet the murderers within your jurisdiction. I grant they are within the line of the Patent, but yet you cannot say that therefore they are your subjects, nor yet within your jurisdiction, until they have fully subjected themselves to your government (which I know they have not), and until you have bought their land. Until this be done, they must be esteemed as an independent people; and so they of Naucotak do all account themselves." The facts and reasoning of Pynchon were decisive, and the magistrates at Boston declined all further interference in the matter.

The colonists of New England have sometimes been charged with fraudulent conduct towards the Indians, in obtaining possession of their lands. The charge has no foundation in truth. Our

public records furnish abundant evidence to disprove it. The concurrent testimony of our early historians is against it. The solemn declarations of the great and good men of former days ought to be regarded as conclusive on this subject. Gov. Winslow, writing in 1676, says, "Before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in the colony of Plymouth, but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors." The same might have been said with equal justice of the colony of Massachusetts. I have already alluded to the first Indian deed of lands in this town. It bears date July 15, 1636. It was made by thirteen Indian chiefs, and all their names with their appropriate marks are affixed to it. Its execution was delayed for several months after the purchase had been made and possession taken by the English. A Massachusetts Indian who understood both languages, was present to interpret betwixt the parties, and he affixed his mark to the deed as a subscribing witness. Other deeds were, at subsequent periods, made of lands in different parts of the town. In 1673, an old blind Indian, with two others, claimed to be proprietors of nearly all the lands situate within the present town of Wilbraham. The town did not disregard their pretensions, but appointed a committee to examine their title, and if valid to purchase what they should judge needful for the English, and the very next year the Indian title to all the lands from the river eastward to the mountains (with one or two inconsiderable reservations) was amicably extinguished. Surely before that time the Indians must have perfectly understood the construction given by the English to transactions of this kind. The memory of our fathers deserves not the reproach of over-reaching the Indians in the purchase of their lands. They bought them fairly, and paid for them fully.

At the time of the settlement of the town, the Indians in the vicinity were considerably numerous. There was a cluster of wigwams in and near the valley of Pecowsic brook, and another on the banks of the Agawam, near the place where the highway now crosses that river. On the Long hill about a mile and an half south of the center of our village was their principal, and

for aught I know, their only fortress. For nearly forty years the relations between the English and the Indians were of the most friendly character. They were familiarly known to each other, and the Indians were daily in the streets, and in the houses of the Planters. If an Indian at any time thought himself wronged by a white man, he appealed to the magistrate for redress, and this appeal was not made in vain. His complaint was heard, examined, and if well founded, satisfaction was awarded him. The English had indeed taken the wise precaution to guard themselves against the sudden treachery or capricious hostility of their Indian neighbors. From the beginning, every able bodied man was a soldier. Once in every month the whole male population of the town, capable of bearing arms, assembled for military exercise and instruction. There were, at the time of which I am about to speak, three fortified houses in the village. One, the well-known brick house erected by John Pynchon, in 1660, and demolished by his descendants in 1831. Of the exact location of the second, I am not quite certain. I have reason to believe that it was on the lot now occupied by Dr. Stone. The third was near the lower end of Main street, on the spot where now stands the dwelling-house lately belonging to Mr. John Burt, deceased.

I have no means by which I can ascertain the number of inhabitants in this village at that time. There were several families on the west side of the river, a few in Longmeadow, and three or four on the banks of the Chicopee. In 1672, the number of qualified voters in the whole town was seventy-one.

About the year 1660, died Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, the early and constant friend of the Pilgrims. He left behind him two sons, Alexander and Philip. Alexander survived his father but a short period, and on his death, Philip became the sachem of his tribe. Philip was a man of uncommon intellectual powers, and great energy of character. He early foresaw, in the rapid increase of the English, the downfall of his race. Determined, if possible, to arrest the progress of the strangers, he employed every faculty of his mind to engage all the New England tribes in one general confederacy against the

colonies. In these exertions he was but too successful. The Mohegans alone resisted his machinations, and remained faithful to the whites. Hostilities were delayed for a season, but in the month of June, 1675, the strife commenced, which was to cease, only with the extermination of the civilized, or the utter dispersion of the savage race. I am not about to relate the story of this calamitous war, a war, far more calamitous than any other in which New England has borne a part, a war in which her gallant sons literally poured out their blood like water.

The first scenes of the tragedy were acted in the colony of Plymouth. The burning of Brookfield soon followed, and before the close of the summer, the war notes of the savage echoed along our own beautiful valley. Northfield, Deerfield, Hatfield and Hadley were assaulted. The day of the attack on Hadley had been set apart by the inhabitants as a Fast. The people were at the moment in the church. In the first fury of the onset, they gave way before the enemy. Suddenly a venerable stranger was in their midst. With a voice of thunder he recalled the fugitives. His sword gleaming in the sunlight, he led them on to battle, achieved the victory, and disappeared. No wonder that the pious villagers ascribed their rescue to the miraculous interposition of Heaven. No wonder that, to their astonished vision, their mysterious deliverer seemed a combatant from the skies.* Early in September, a detachment of men, commanded by Capt. Beers of Watertown, was defeated near Northfield, and before the close of the month, the fatal catastrophe of Bloody Brook shrouded the colony in gloom. The events of that melancholy day have recently received a fresh and appropriate consecration, and new and becoming honors now bloom upon the grave of the "Flower of Essex."

Although the Indians about Northampton and Hadley and the upper towns, had already joined in the war against the colonies, those of Springfield still professed the warmest friendship

* This incident, which had been related with more or less detail, as a historical fact, from the days of Increase Mather down to the time of this address, was vigorously questioned by Hon. George Sheldon, in a historical paper read by him before the Pocumtuck Memorial Association, in February, 1874, and must now be regarded as of doubtful authenticity.

for their English neighbors. The too credulous inhabitants regarded these professions as sincere. Little did they suspect that the torch was already kindled for the burning of their dwellings, and that the uplifted arm of the savage only delayed its fall that it might inflict a surer and a deadlier blow. The fourth of October gave no signs of the approaching storm, and the last rays of departing light that shot across the waters of our river, fell in all the loveliness of an autumnal sunset upon the humble cottages of a confiding and tranquil people. But this tranquillity was now to cease. This peaceful village was now to experience all the horrors of a merciless warfare. The neighboring Indians, under the guise of a pretended friendship, had concealed the blackest treachery. Their horrid preparations were well nigh finished. They had already marked their victims, and waited only the propitious moment to strike them down. But He, without whom, "not a sparrow falleth to the ground," interposed for the salvation of his people. In the devout language of one of our pious forefathers, himself an actor in the scenes of that eventful day,—“God, in His good Providence, so ordered it, that an Indian gave intelligence of the enemy’s design to fall on this town, whereby we escaped with our lives, for which we should give God the glory.” The name of this Indian was Toto. He lived at Windsor, in the family of Mr. Wolcott. In the evening of the fourth of October, he was observed to be greatly agitated. On being urged to assign the cause of his agitation, he disclosed the appalling secret, that three hundred of Philip’s men were concealed in the Indian fort at Springfield, and that they, with the Springfield Indians, were about to burn the town and destroy the inhabitants. Instantly a messenger was on the way to announce the impending danger. He arrived in the dead hour of night. The amazed villagers fled in consternation to the fortified houses, and there, with trembling anxiety, awaited the coming day. The returning light disclosed no cause of alarm. The hours of morning passed away, and no hostile appearances were discovered. Hope revived, and with it a confidence of safety began to be indulged. To remove all doubts on the subject,

two brave men, Thomas Cooper and Thomas Miller, determined to go at once to the Indian fortress and wigwams below, and learn the truth of the matter. They were both among the early planters, and were now in declining life. Cooper was, at the time, the second military officer of the town, a man of great bodily strength and of undoubted courage. They immediately started on the perilous service, and had just entered the wood which then skirted the lower part of Main street, when a report of musketry announced to the affrighted inhabitants that the death work was begun. Miller was instantly killed. Cooper, although mortally wounded, kept upon his horse till he reached the nearest fortified house, when he fell and expired. The ruthless warriors of Philip rushed at once upon the town, and soon this now peaceful and happy village became a scene of desolation more easily imagined than described. I have no heart to tell the story of that disastrous day. It is written on the saddest page of our history. Two men and one woman were killed. Many others were wounded, one mortally. Twenty-nine dwelling-houses and nearly as many barns, were burned, and all the mills destroyed. It was the season of the year when the fruits of the earth had been mostly gathered in, and the destruction of these not only greatly increased the present distress, but excited the most gloomy anticipations of future suffering. Exposed every moment to the renewed attacks of a barbarous foe, with no houses to shelter them from the rigors of a fast coming winter, and without a sufficiency of food to sustain their families until the opening of another spring, the hearts of our fathers almost sunk within them. So heavily did their afflictions press upon them, and so great were their apprehensions of fresh calamities that they determined to abandon the town, and seek a home less open to the incursions of the enemy, and from the execution of this purpose, they were restrained only by the decisive interference of the government.

The succeeding winter was uncommonly mild, and all fear of suffering through lack of food soon vanished. The danger from the Indians, however, still continued. They were frequently discovered hovering about the skirts of the town, alarming the

inhabitants, and destroying their property. The people at Longmeadow were prevented from attending public worship during the whole winter. On the last Sabbath in March, they determined to make the attempt, and had proceeded on their way to church as far as Pecowsic brook, when they were attacked by a band of savages. John Keep, his wife, and their infant child, were killed, and several others wounded. Keep was, at the time, one of the selectmen of the town. In the course of the summer, two or three other persons were slain in different parts of the town.

On the 19th of May, occurred the celebrated "Falls fight." An English force, drawn chiefly from the towns of Springfield, Northampton, Hatfield and Hadley, under the command of Captain Turner of Boston, then stationed at Northampton, surprised a large body of Indians near Turner's Falls. They fell upon their encampment at the dawning of the day, destroyed several hundred, and commenced their retreat. Other parties of the enemy were, unknown to the English, in the neighborhood of the Falls. These, united, greatly outnumbered the English, who, in their turn, were attacked, and in the early part of the fight Captain Turner was slain. The command then devolved on Captain Samuel Holyoke of this town, who, throughout the whole of that bloody day, exhibited consummate skill and the most daring courage. With his own hand he slew six of the enemy. Nearly the whole retreat was a continued conflict. The English reached Hatfield at the close of the day, with the loss of thirty-eight men. Holyoke was a youth of much promise, greatly honored, and beloved by the people of this town. He was the son of Elizur Holyoke, and the grandson of William Pynchon. On the death of his father, in the preceding winter, he was chosen to succeed him in the command of the military company of the place. His career was short, but his services ought never to be forgotten by this people. His exertions on the 19th of May, brought on a disease which, in the ensuing autumn, terminated his life. The remains of this gallant youth now rest in yonder grave-yard, "no marble tells us where."

This terrific war—terrific in all its features, closed with the

closing summer. It had lasted a little more than a year, but it was a bloody year, the bloodiest in the annals of New England. It terminated in the death of Philip, and in the extinction or dispersion of his tribe, and not of his only, but of all the tribes which had united with him. The river Indians fled to their kindred in the north and the west, and the children of the red men, who were once proprietors of this lovely valley, are now, perhaps, wanderers beyond the great lakes, on the Rocky Mountains, or on the shores of the Pacific ocean.

The apprehension of danger from the Indians did not, however, subside with the termination of this war. The settlements on Connecticut river were for a long period the outposts of the colony, and constantly exposed to the sudden incursions of the savages. Our Fathers literally sowed their fields in fear, and gathered their harvests in jeopardy of their lives. They went about their ordinary business with arms in their hands, and to their solemn assemblies, as when one goeth to the battle.

In the year 1703, died the Hon. John Pyncheon. I can not find it in my heart, on this day of holy rejoicing, to pass entirely unnoticed the services and merits of this most excellent man. To him, more than to any other individual, the inhabitants of Springfield and of the old county of Hampshire are indebted for the rich blessings they enjoy. Throughout a long life, his time, his talents, and his property were employed in the service of the people. At the early age of ten years he came to this town with his father. On the return of his father to England, he was, although then but twenty-six years of age, placed at the head of the commission appointed by the General Court to administer justice here. He had a principal agency in the purchase and settlement of the towns of Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield. From the organization of the county in 1662, to the time of his death, he presided in the Courts of Justice, and during this whole period commanded the military force of the county. In 1665 he was chosen an assistant of the colony, and re-chosen almost every year till the dissolution of the government. He was of the council of New England in the time of Sir Edmund Andros, and although utterly

opposed to the arbitrary measures of that day, like his friend, Governor Treat of Connecticut, also of that council, he deemed it his duty to hold the office, that he might be the better enabled to subserve the interests of the people. He was a councillor under the new charter, and, I believe, died in office. He was a man of high intellectual powers and great decision of character. He discharged all his public duties with singular ability, and in the relations of private life he was without reproach. He was with this people in prosperity and in adversity. He participated in all their afflictions, and shared in all their calamities. For more than fifty years he was their leader and magistrate. In his life he feared and served God, and on his death "devout men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him." Although but a single family bearing his honored name now remains with us, many of his descendants are among this people. Let them remember that for a period embracing more than a fourth part of the time since the first settlement of our town, their venerated ancestor watched over its interests and guided its councils, and that while a single drop of his blood flows in their veins, this community expects that every man of them will do his duty.

I have already more than exhausted the time I intended to occupy, and must bring this exercise to a close. I may not even allude to the more recent events of our local history. I may not speak of the little communities which have from time to time sprung up within our ancient limits, and which have long since become large and flourishing towns. I may not revive the heart-stirring recollections of the old French war, nor those of our glorious Revolution. I may not compare the present with the past, nor may I attempt to lift the veil which conceals the future from our vision. Perhaps these topics belong not to the occasion. Our business is this day with the Fathers, rather than with the children. I cannot, however, refrain from offering my humble tribute of gratitude to the men who have sustained the interests of Massachusetts from the first moment of her existence to the present time. The Fathers of our noble Commonwealth were men of whom the world was not worthy. They

drew their principles of government from the living fountain of inspired truth, and laid the deep foundations of our privileges on the Bible itself. It was their early and constant care to provide both for the intellectual and moral culture of the whole people. They made the instruction of the youth a matter of general concern, and our peculiar system of school education had its origin in the first days of the colony. They revered the holy Sabbath, and were constant attendants on the public worship of Almighty God. Amid such influences the cornerstone of our liberties was laid. Amid such influences the men who from time to time have sustained our noble institutions were reared. The spirit of the Fathers rested on the sons. In this spirit the first approaches of arbitrary power were met and resisted. In this spirit the people of Massachusetts stood up against the oppressive acts of the British Government. In this spirit they girded themselves for the conflict, and went up to the battle. If we continue to cherish this spirit, if we hold fast to the principles of our Fathers, come what may, and when it may, the good old Bay State is safe. The enemies of free institutions may triumph in other portions of our land, the liberties of our sister states may be subverted, this glorious Union may be dissolved, but Massachusetts, if she be true to herself, will stand erect amid the ruin, and remain forever, the chosen abode of a free people.

F847 2

6029 1



